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THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

INCLUDING THE COMPLETE GALLERY OF THE PORTRAITS OF THE PONTIFFS

REPRODUCED FROM
"EFFIGIES PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM
DOMINICI BASAE"

BEING A SERIES OF VOLUMES GIVING THE HISTORY
OF THE WORLD DURING THE CHRISTIAN ERA

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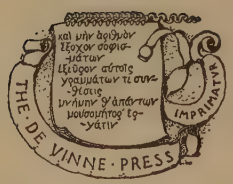

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No. 758

THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

ADRIANVS ▲ VI ▲ PP ▲ TRAIECTENSIS ▲

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THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

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ADRIAN VI—A.D. 1522

ADRIAN VI was the son of Florian Boyers. He was born at Utrecht, in 1459, his father being, as some say, a weaver, a ship-builder, a pilot's mate, or a brewer. His father sent him to the college of Louvain, and Adrian subsequently received the title of doctor from the university of that city.

Margaret, aunt of Charles V, daughter of Maximilian, King of the Romans, and governor-general of Flanders, made Adrian vicar of Louvain and dean of the cathedral. In the latter capacity he held the office of vice-chancellor of the university. Maximilian appointed him tutor to Charles V when that prince was seven years old. Adrian was then sent by Maximilian ambassador to Ferdinand, King of Spain, who gave him the bishopric of Tortosa.

Charles having become King of Spain on the death of Ferdinand, his maternal grandfather, that prince intrusted his former tutor, Adrian, with the management of all his affairs. Adrian was already a cardinal, having been appointed by Leo X in the month of July, 1517. He became, in succession,

lay in arriving. He then begged that they would harbor neither criminals nor debtors in their palaces as places of sanctuary, and he asked that the barigel (chief of police) should be at liberty to enter the palaces of the cardinals, to which they instantly consented. Then all got on horseback. His Holiness, carried in a chair to the front of the door of Saint Paul's, there mounted a white horse, with the Holy Sacrament carried before him (this custom has been abolished), and rode towards the palace of the Vatican. On the 31st of August the pope was solemnly crowned by Cardinal Mark Cornaro, first deacon, upon the staircase of the basilica. There was no great concourse present, on account of the pestilence.

One of the first measures of the pope was to issue an edict against persons found carrying weapons. This year, too, Adrian summoned Erasmus to him. "Arise, arise," said the pope to Erasmus, "arise in defence of the Lord and for his glory; use, as hitherto you have done, the marvellous gifts that he has bestowed upon you."

Audin records the correspondence between the pope and the great scholar.

Erasmus hesitated; he did not dare to join in the work which was proposed to him by the head of the Church. He gave hesitating and doubtful apologies on the score of age, called attention to his various infirmities; and he especially dwelt upon his unfitness to journey, as the pope wished him, to Rome. He admitted that he saw the evils of the Church and their remedy. But the remedies, he wrote, he could explain only by trustworthy messengers, and he had none such. He ended by saying that his advice had already been rejected. Adrian soon understood that he could not reckon upon the co-operation of Erasmus.

Audin thus gives the portrait of Adrian:

"Pope Adrian was thoroughly German; German in language, attire, manners, and faith; his faith not needing, like that of the Italians, the aid of symbols and images to excite it. He was a true Christian of the primitive Church, who, unfortunately, did not perceive that the external forms, if they are to endure, must change with the manners and customs of the people.

"More than plainly dressed, he was only to be distinguished, when going about the streets of Rome, by his escort of the halt, the lame, and the blind, the poor and the mendicant of both sexes, who thronged upon his path, and to whom he distributed alms. No artists were there, for he loved them not; he taunted them with 'robbing the poor.' "

In the month of December the plague redoubled its ravages; the courts had to be closed, many of the cardinals left Rome, and the pope and his servants shut themselves up in the palace, into which those only were allowed to enter who were summoned, and from which no one was allowed to go without permission.

In the spring of 1523 the pestilence ceased and the courts resumed their sittings. The pope did not take possession of Saint John Lateran, although, in a consistory in January, it had been debated whether the pope could take possession by proxy.

Much was said about the disorders of this Roman court. Innovators made complaints, which were not always well founded, and urged the pope to make reforms. Adrian, harassed on all hands, and, besides, urged by his own zeal to establish order, especially in ecclesiastical discipline, called to his aid two men who were distinguished for goodness, learning, and prudence—John Peter Caraffa, Archbishop of Chieti, and Saint Gaetan Tienée. In concert with them, the pope began to examine attentively the question which had

first kindled the Lutheran fire—the question of indulgences. Abuses had crept in, which the pope and the cardinals determined to repress. They began by being very chary of those indulgences that were to the advantage of the chancery office, which gave universal satisfaction.

On the 1st of September after the coronation, Adrian revoked all indults granted by the cardinals, at which they were displeased. The referendaries were at that time thirty in number; Adrian reduced them to eight, so that the apostolical chamber might economize in that direction.

On the 9th of that month he received solemnly, and in the midst of an immense concourse of people, the palfrey and the tribute of seven thousand ounces of gold for the kingdom of Sicily; they were presented by John Manoel, ambassador from Charles V, and Jane, Queen of Aragon and Sicily. On that occasion the pope ratified the investiture of the kingdom of Naples in favor of Charles.

On the 9th of December Adrian published the revocation that he had made in the month of April, at Saragossa, of all the expectatives of benefices. These expectatives were a kind of privilege granted by the popes, the cardinals, and the bishops, to ecclesiastical persons, who thus were secured the survivorship of the actual titularies; or what we now call, as to bishoprics, coadjutorships, and, for seculars, reversions.

The Holy Father was absolutely bent upon putting down Lutheranism. He wrote urgent letters to those princes who had remained faithful, and he sent his nuncio, Francis Chérégat, to the Diet of Nuremberg. It was there determined to enforce the decrees of Charles V and Leo X against Luther. The monk seemed to pay little attention to these decrees, as he was protected by several princes who held his doctrines, and were repaid by his granting to them bishoprics and the greater part of the ecclesiastical property.

By the same Chérégat, Adrian sent a paternal brief to Frederic, Duke of Saxony, in which, reminding him of the piety of his ancestors, he exhorted him to abandon Luther and return to the bosom of the Church.

Terms offensive to the Roman court have been ascribed to Adrian. In his instructions he said: "Avow frankly that God has permitted this schism and this persecution on account of the sins of men, and especially those of the priests and prelates of the Church." This avowal, made in deep humility, but scarcely in accordance with human prudence, contained an implicit censure of many acts prior to his pontificate; and it was a subject of triumph for the partisans of the Reformation, and of blame for writers attached to the court of Rome. On this subject the Cardinal Pallavicini said of Adrian VI: "He was an excellent ecclesiastic, but, in the main, a very ordinary pope."

Adrian learned that the nations of America solicited missionaries, and he sent them some Franciscans, full of zeal for the propagation of the faith, giving those courageous religious a proof of confidence and genuine love. A bull, to be found in Verricelli, enacted that in the Indies, wherever no bishopric had as yet been founded, or where, though bishoprics existed, the bishops and their vicars could not go, the religious, expressly authorized by their superiors, might exercise episcopal authority, except in such things as absolutely required the personal authority of a bishop. Formerly John XXII had, by bull, granted to the Franciscans, on missions, the use of a quasi-episcopal jurisdiction in places where there was no Catholic bishop. This privilege was recognized by the Congregation of Rites on the 5th of April, 1704, as is shown by Lambertini.

At this time the island of Rhodes, the residence of the knights of that name, was besieged by two hundred thousand

Turks, commanded by Soliman II. Adrian sent provisions to the knights, but contrary winds delayed the flotilla, and the besieged were reduced to the last extremities. However, as the knights continued to display their usual courage, the Turks prepared to raise the siege. Then the chancellor of the order, Andrew d'Amaral, a Portuguese, irritated because Philip de Villiers de l'Ile Adam was preferred to him for the dignity of grand master, caused a slinger to throw a paper into the Turkish camp giving the besiegers notice that the place was no longer defensible, and Soliman consequently continued the attack. After a siege of six months the place was surrendered on honorable terms, and the sultan, who entered in triumph, paid the highest honors to the grand master. The knights had wrested the island from the Saracens two hundred and thirteen years before, and had held it as sovereigns. It was the fifth residence of those brave knights, and they now only lost it by the treachery of the Portuguese knight. They afterwards wandered about from place to place, until Charles V gave them the island of Malta, on condition of their presenting a falcon to the King of Naples, the sovereign of that island.

Adrian, though accustomed to retirement and prayer was forced into sending against Malatesta, lord of Rimini, the Spanish army which had escorted the new pontiff to Italy. The same army was employed to restore the duchy of Urbino to Francis Mary de la Rovera, who had been deprived of it by Leo X. Alphonso d'Este at the same time received the duchy of Ferrara. The same pope labored to separate the Venetians from the league with the French. Not content with this success, he urged the republic to contract an alliance with the Emperor Ferdinand of Austria and the Duke of Milan. By that means Adrian deemed himself secured against any attack by the French.

These politic provisions were successful, but Adrian at the same time is censurable for having shown such an excessive gratitude towards the imperial court as to render it in some sort the arbiter of the decisions of the Vatican.

In the midst of so much condescension, Adrian, little accustomed to government, did not discover that Cardinal Soderini, in whom he had great confidence, had a secret understanding with Francis I, and advised him to take advantage of the disturbances to conquer the island of Sicily. The treachery was at last discovered, the property of the cardinal confiscated, and he was confined in the Castle of Sant' Angelo.

It is but justice to Adrian to say that what he never forgot was the interest of the priesthood. On the 13th of May, 1523, he canonized Saint Benno, abbot and provost in the city of Hildesheim, and then Bishop of Meissen, in Lower Saxony, and apostle of the Slavonians. He had been a great defender of Gregory VII against Henry IV, King of the Romans, whom he even ventured to excommunicate. Abounding griefs and pains, aggravated by his great age, caused his death on the 16th of June, 1106, in his seventy-sixth year, after being the most courageous of bishops during forty years. The process of his canonization had been pursued under Alexander VI, Julius II, and Leo X.

In the same solemnity Adrian also canonized Saint Antoninus, thus named on account of his small size—Antoninus being the diminutive of his real name, Antonio. He belonged to the Dominicans and had been Archbishop of Florence. Adrian extended to the kings of Spain the right granted by Leo X to the French kings to choose and nominate bishops. At the same time the kings of Spain obtained the privilege of being perpetual grand masters of the orders of Saint James, of Calatrava, and of Alcantara.

Adrian, worn out by the fatigues and anxieties to which he was subjected between Luther and the Turks, found his health daily failing, and he at length died on the 14th of September, 1523, at the age of sixty-four, after governing the Church one year, eight months, and six days. He had created only one cardinal. He had long suffered with the stone. He was interred at the Vatican, between the two Piccolomini popes—Pius II and Pius III.

Adrian's body was afterwards removed to the Church of Santa Maria de l'Anima, the national church of the Germans, built after the designs of Balthazar Peruzzi, by Cardinal William Enchenvoert, the single member of the Sacred College created by him.

Adrian had a handsome countenance; it was a pleasure to look upon his fair and ruddy face. He was tall, but either naturally, or from the effect of age, his head drooped. He seemed inclined to gaiety of temper, and every one found his conversation frank and agreeable. There was much to admire in the courage with which he said: "We will not adorn the priests and the churches, but we will adorn the church with the priests." He often issued bulls. and insisted on their being gratis.

Adrian, unlike some other popes, had no inclination to nepotism. Many of his relatives ventured to go to Rome in hope of making their fortune. Adrian gave them a small sum of money to pay their travelling expenses, and sent them back to Flanders on foot. He, like Adrian IV, said that he owed more to Christ than to flesh and blood.

Adrian was not munificent; he was reputed to love neither poets nor luxury, and he was no patron of antiquarians. At Rome this was deemed a great misfortune. As to the reproach that he did not spend much, it may be replied that he found the treasury empty, and that all Christian princes, even

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Charles, had refused to aid him. However, by dint of effort and solicitation, and especially self-denial, he sent Cardinal Gaetani, a Dominican, to Hungary with a succor of forty thousand ducats, the utmost that he could raise.

Adrian sometimes said that his greatest misfortune was that of being in power. His epitaph, ascribed to himself, thus states that fact: "Adrianus VI hic situs est, qui nil sibi infelicius in vita quam quod imperaret, dixit"—"Here lies Adrian VI, who deemed his being called to reign his greatest misfortune."

This pope ranks among the ecclesiastical writers by his Commentary upon the Books of Sentences.

This book, first printed when he was a professor at Louvain, was reprinted without the author's sanction when he was the head of Christendom. In it one proposition is that "the pope can err even in what concerns the faith." Adrian, on the throne, retracted the censurable opinions contained in this book.

The Holy See was vacant two months and four days.

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CLEMENT VII—A.D. 1523

CLEMENT VII (Giulio de' Medici) was the legitimate son of the Giuliano de' Medici who was assassinated by the Florentine conspirators of the Pazzi faction on the 26th of April, 1478, a month before the birth of Giulio. His mother was Antonia del Cittadino, or of the Gorini. To prove the authenticity of her marriage with Giuliano, two car-

dinals were appointed to make inquiry, and they found witnesses who had been present at a secret marriage.

During his exile, Giulio, at the age of eighteen, entered the order of the Knights of Rhodes, and was prior of Capua. He next became Archbishop of Embrun, and then obtained the archbishopric of Florence. In 1513 Leo X, his cousin, created him cardinal-deacon of Saint Mary in Dominica. He was legate in the league of Leo X and Charles V against the French, and did not quit the army sent to meet them.

After the funeral of Adrian VI thirty-three sacred electors entered into conclave on the 1st of October. The guard was intrusted to the grand master of Rhodes, De l'Ile Adam, who had been summoned to Rome by Adrian VI and received with the most flattering honors.

Giulio, aged forty-five, was elected pope on the 18th of November, 1523, and proclaimed on the 19th, after fifty days of conclave—that is to say, the very day on which, two years before, he had entered Milan as a conqueror. He owed his elevation especially to the younger cardinals. He had been named by way of adoration—that is to say, publicly and by acclamation; but he desired that there should be a ballot, declaring that, though it was in his power to invoke an act of adoration, he would forego all right resulting from it. It was possible that, on the ballot, his election might be lost, but it elected him unanimously, with the exception of his own vote; and Cardinal Mark Cornaro crowned him under the name of Clement VII, at Saint Peter's, on the 26th of December, but he did not take solemn possession of Saint John Lateran. He thought of doing so on Saint John the Baptist's day in 1525, but the project was not carried into execution.

The new pontiff received into his good graces Cardinal

Soderini, who left the Castle of Sant' Angelo to enter the conclave, though, in the previous negotiations as to the choice of a pope, he had been opposed to Giulio. "On this occasion," said the Romans, "the pontiff showed himself Clement by both name and nature." Some authors affirm that he wished to keep his own name of Giulio, but it was objected that a pope who preserved his own name would die in a few years, as had been the case with Adrian. He accordingly consented to change his name to Clement VII, paying no attention to the fact that an antipope, in the time of Urban VI, had usurped the name.

The pope immediately sent into Germany Cardinal Campeggio, the most skilful member of the Sacred College, and one of the most respected for piety and virtue. It was he who, with many princes of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, published a reform of the clergy, consisting of thirty-five chapters. Subsequently Clement, whose views were truly pacific, diligently applied himself to restore the most perfect concord among the Christian princes, to diminish the scandal of their dissensions, and thus to show a more formidable front to the enemies of religion. But if the commencement of this reign was pacific as the pontiff himself, the continuation became so frightfully painful that the Church, from its birth, had never, under any other pope, experienced so much misery, violence, and so many unforeseen catastrophes.

By a bull of the 24th of June, 1524, Clement approved the order of the Theatines, regular clerics, instituted by John Peter Caraffa, then Archbishop of Chieti. Theate is the Latin name of Chieti, and thence these religious took the name of Theatines. The other founders of the order were two persons of an exemplary piety, Boniface del Colle, an Alexandrian noble, and Paul Consiglieri, a Roman knight,

aided in that great work by Saint Gaetan Tienée, a noble of Vicenza, commonly called the Founder. He recommended to his religious so austere a poverty that he said: "You must have no reliance but on Divine Providence." They are still known under the same name. They were chiefly in Italy, having only four houses in Germany, five in Spain, one in France, three in Portugal, one in Poland, and one at Goa, in Hindustan. The Theatine nuns, who, in 1583, were founded at Naples, are scarcely known beyond the limit of that kingdom. They are divided into two congregations, those who take simple vows and those who take irrevocable vows; the superiors of both are the Theatines.

In the year 1525 Clement celebrated the jubilee of the holy year—that is to say, the eighth after that of Boniface, and the second since the celebration was fixed for every twenty-five years.

On the 1st of May after the pontifical Mass of Saint John Lateran, Clement published the league concluded against the Turk, between Charles V, the kings of France and England, the Florentines, and the dukes of Milan and Mantua. In this ceremony the pope granted to all present plenary indulgence and the pontifical benediction.

On account of the pestilence there were not many pilgrims present this holy year; they dreaded the wars in Italy, rebellion in Germany, and tumults in Hungary; and, finally, there were the troubles excited by Luther, who, that same year (1525), in the forty-third year of his age, had married the nun Catharine de Bora, abbess of a convent of the city of Nimptsch, near Grimma, a city of the kingdom of Saxony, about seven leagues from Leipsic. He lived with her until the 18th of February, 1546, on which day the apostate died, after a fit of debauchery. From this wretched and sacrilegious union there were three sons—John, Martin, and Paul.

At the entreaty of Andrew Gritti, doge of Venice, Clement beatified Saint Laurence Giustiniani, patriarch of that city, subsequently canonized by Alexander VIII.

The Constable of Bourbon, irritated beyond measure by the injustice he had suffered at the court of France, resolved on vengeance for it. He abandoned the service of Francis I and passed into that of Charles V. While weakening the King of France, this augmented the strength and influence of the King of Spain and of the King of the Romans.

Francis I, defeated at Pavia, could not defend Clement, who was on bad terms with Charles V. In 1526, at the moment of his deliverance, Francis concluded a treaty with the pope, and desired to drive Charles from the peninsula; but neither at Rome nor in Paris were the requisite measures taken to prevent the enemy from marching upon Rome. Bourbon commanded this army, made up of Lutherans and Spaniards, and he advanced without artillery, baggage-wagons, or munitions. Such boldness deserved a better cause and a nobler aim. It would be difficult to prove that the Romans then did not regret the absence of the warlike energy of Pope Julius II.

Renzo di Ceri, of the Orsini family, undertook to save Rome, but the pope had sent away some foreign troops on whom he could rely, and the city was left to its own citizens, long unused to war.

On the 4th of March, 1527, Charles de Bourbon led his soldiers to the assault. Benvenuto Cellini, in his life, states that he was an eye-witness, and thus proceeds: "The whole city took up arms. We then proceeded along the walls of the Campo Santo, and thence we saw that immense army making every effort to remain at that part of the wall which we were approaching. We saw the bodies of many young men killed by the assailants. A dense fog prevailed. I turned

towards Alexander del Bene, one of my companions, and said to him: 'Let us get back to the house as soon as possible, for there is no remedy in the world. You see the enemy enter, our people flee.' Alexander, much alarmed, exclaimed: 'Would to God that we had not come!' and then he hastily turned to go away. But I detained him, saying: 'Since you have brought me here, we must do something honorable.' And pointing my arquebus where I saw the soldiers thickest, I aimed at a person taller than the rest. The fog prevented me from being sure whether he was mounted or on foot. Looking at Alexander and my other companion Cecchino, I told them to fire their pieces, and I placed them so that they would not receive a shot from the enemy. When each of us had fired two shots, I looked cautiously over the wall; I remarked a great bustle among the assailants, because one of our shots had killed Bourbon, and he was the first man that I saw taken up by the others, as we afterwards clearly perceived.

"We retired by the Campo Santo, and entered by Saint Peter's. Coming out behind the Church of Sant' Angelo, we with great difficulty reached the gate of the castle, for Renzo di Ceri and Horace Baglioni wounded or killed those who avoided fighting at the walls. The drawbridge was lowered, for the enemy was already in the city, and I got into the fort at the moment when Pope Clement arrived by the corridors."

Furious on learning the death of their general, killed early in the assault, either by Benvenuto Cellini or some other hand, the soldiers at first gave no quarter. The first day nearly eight thousand Romans were butchered in a single portion of the city, although they implored mercy on their knees.

"Never, probably, in the history of the world," says Sismondi, "has a great capital been abandoned to a more atro-

cious abuse of victory; never has a powerful army been composed of more ferocious soldiers, or more frightfully shaken off the yoke of discipline. It was not enough that the whole wealth, sacred and profane, that piety or industry had amassed, was given over to the rapacity of the plundering soldiers; the very persons of the unfortunate inhabitants were equally delivered over to the brutal caprices of the soldiers. While women of rank fell victims to insatiable lust, those suspected of possessing hidden wealth were tortured. They were forced by torments to sign notes and to exhaust the means of any friends they might have in other countries. Many prelates sank under those sufferings. After paying ransom and believing themselves safe from any further attacks, they were obliged to ransom themselves anew; and many died of violence, grief, or fear. German soldiers, doubly drunk with wine and blood, led bishops about mounted on asses and clothed in their canonical habits, or dragged cardinals through the streets, loading them with blows and insults. In their greed those soldiers broke open the tabernacles and mutilated masterpieces of the arts. The Vatican Library was sacked; the squares and the churches became markets where the soldiers sold young women and horses; and these abominable excesses, committed even in the Basilica of Saint Peter and Saint Paul—an asylum venerated by Attila, the pillage of which, under Genseric, lasted only a fortnight—were now kept up without mitigation for two months."

Amidst so many atrocities, no respect was paid even to that class of talents which, having no great wealth, offered no temptation to cupidity. Relying on that feeling of dignity which is venerated by the most barbarous nations, artists of all nations who lived in Rome, after asking for liberty and life, uttered words of honor, of courage, and of piety.

Halberds in a moment scattered the learned school of Michelangelo and of Raphael.

One artist alone, Rosso, who afterwards constructed and ornamented with pictures the great gallery of Fontainebleau, would not hide in Rome, where religion is no longer free or art protected. Rosso is bound, beaten, chained, called impious and idolatrous. If he appeals to the Spaniards, the violence is repeated; as he loves and defends his life, he of course must have hidden gold!

The pupils of him who placed in the Church of La Minerva "Christ Embracing the Cross," which no one any longer respects, rush to the side of Michelangelo, who, throwing down the compasses, has seized the sword, and offers himself for the defence of Florence, which is also threatened.

During that time Charles V went in mourning for his victory! He had public prayers offered for the liberty of the Holy Father, who was besieged in the Castle of Sant' Angelo, and for the return of that peace in Christendom which he alone disturbed. He who thus commanded prayers was the very head and master of that army to which, a very Janus of piety and revolt, he privately sent reinforcements from Germany.

At this news, and having so odious an enemy, the pope deemed that he ought not yet to think of yielding. They required four hundred thousand gold ducats to allow him to leave the Castle of Sant' Angelo, and exacted that he deliver to the Mussulman's troops, who held him besieged, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Parma, Piacenza, and Modena, without any stipulation for their eventual restoration. The pope hesitated to accept these conditions. If he had not the military courage of Julius II, he had civil courage and the gift of prudence.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Pompey Colonna, another enemy of

Clement VII, had entered Rome at the head of a troop of the tenants of his fiefs. He had, with a sacrilegious ardor, embraced the cause of the emperor. The cardinal enjoyed at first the humiliation of the pope and the annoyance of Renzo di Ceri; but we must quickly add that this prince of the Church, this Roman, could not long endure the sight of the profanation of the temples and the grief of his country. The peasantry of Colonna wanted to pillage what had been left by the Spaniards and the Lutherans. This was too much. Colonna was moved by a deep pity; he shed tears of repentance; he promptly sent away the brigands whom he had brought, and kept with him only a faithful and obedient troop. Very soon he threw open his palace to those who desired shelter there; with his own money he ransomed the captive cardinals, without distinction of faction, friend and foe alike. In the generous frankness of his penitence he would have held out his hand even to an Orsini! He distributed provisions to crowds of wretched people who, having lost all, were perishing with hunger. Great crimes often call forth great virtues.

When the Spanish-German army consented to acknowledge a general, it was Philibert de Châlons, Prince of Orange, who commanded it, and in time he enforced some respect to his authority.

Clement VII again entreated the Duke of Urbino to encamp on Monte Mario, a very strong position, whence it was easy to harass or attack Rome. What had the conqueror to fear? All that he did not fear. But La Rovera, enemy to the Medici and to Louis X, who for a time had deprived him of his principality, with the vilest obstinacy incessantly repeated that his army was not sufficiently supplied with munitions. The Venetians conjured him to act, but he was deaf to all entreaties.

Rome had been sacked by the Gauls three hundred and sixty-two years after its foundation; by Alaric, King of the Goths, on the 24th of August, A.D. 410; by Genseric, King of the Vandals, in 455; by Odoacer, in 476; by the Ostrogoths, in 536; by the Goths, in 538; by Totila, King of the Goths, in 546, and again on the 17th of September, 549—on that occasion the first families were reduced to such misery that patrician ladies were forced to beg at the gates of the Goths; by the Lombards, in 750; by Astolphus, king of the same nation, in 755; by the Emperor Arnulf, in 895; and by the Emperor Henry IV, in 1084. But the excesses and the carnage committed by the army of Charles V caused the Romans to forget the rapacity of the barbarians who had despoiled them.

The German Lutherans and Spanish Catholics, after having committed the most bestial enormities, insulted Rome with yet one more act of audacity. Assembling in one of the chapels of the Vatican, and wearing the insignia of the cardinalate, they deposed Pope Clement and proceeded to elect a new pontiff. Imitating the ceremonies of the conclave, each gave his vote to Luther, the patriarch of the revolt, and in Rome herself he was created pope by that crew of miscreants.

Meantime, Clement, overwhelmed by so many frightful misfortunes, dragged on a life of grief and tears in the Castle of Sant' Angelo. He was besieged nine months, from the 6th of March to the 9th of December, and was at length obliged to submit to the severest conditions. His ransom was fixed at four hundred thousand golden crowns, which he was obliged to pay. He was called upon for hostages, and he had to deliver up some of his best friends—Cardinals Franciotto Orsini, Paulus Emilius Cesi, Alexander Cesarini, Augustine Trivulzio, and Nicholas Gaddi; as well as John

Matthew Giberto, Bishop of Verona; Antonio Pucci, Bishop of Pistoja, and Onofrius Bartolini Salimbeni, Archbishop of Pisa. All were shut up in the palace of Cardinal Pompey Colonna, and thence removed to Naples.

The pope, who still had thirteen cardinals with him, was closely kept prisoner by the Spaniard Alicornio, who had been the jailor of Francis I when captured at Pavia. The Spaniard treated the pope as though he had been a chief of banditti. Then Clement, more than ever doubtful of the good faith of Charles V, fled to Orvieto, disguised as a merchant, and escorted by Louis Gonzaga. There he was hospitably received by his relative, Nicholas Ridolfi, bishop of that city. In the interval, Bourbon's army having left Rome, Clement, at the invitation of Cardinal Campeggio, legate of the Holy See, went to Viterbo, and thence to Rome, which city he re-entered on the 6th of October, 1528.

When the Emperor Charles V learned the continued calamities of the Catholic capital of the world and of the head of the Church, he continued to feign the most lively grief, suspended the festivities that had been ordered on account of the birth of his son Philip, exaggerated his outward garb of mourning, and also caused prayers to be put up for the assistance of Heaven against so many evils. But every one perceived the imperial hypocrisy when Charles, instead of setting the pontiff at liberty, still kept him prisoner, and still dishonored himself by his illusory prayers for the deliverance of his own prisoner, whom he might at any time have restored to Rome in less than a month, had he chosen.

Clement, shortly before these sad scenes, had beatified Peter of Luxemburg, of the counts of Ligny, a celebrated family which had given kings to Bohemia and emperors to Germany.

It is known that Henry VIII, King of England, had mar-

ried Catharine of Aragon, widow of his brother Arthur, and aunt of Charles V. To that end he had obtained a dispensation from Julius II. But that prince, although he had been twenty-eight years the husband of Catharine, solicited in 1528 from Pope Clement, then at Viterbo, that the Holy See should annul his marriage with Catharine, so that he might marry Anne Boleyn. It was not his mere love of Anne Boleyn, however, that impelled him to make that demand. Courtiers, theologians, disobedient to Rome, persuaded the king that he ought not to consider valid the dispensation that had previously been granted, and that he ought not to have married his brother's widow. The jurisconsults who gave such advice were actuated rather by the love of gain than by reasoning. It is evident that such a dispensation, which is absolutely and undoubtedly within the power of the pope, had not been of rare occurrence. Many pontiffs were convinced that the prohibition of transversal affinity is not a law of nature, and they knew that the Mosaic law ordered that, on pain of infamy, a brother should marry his brother's widow.

Clement VII gave provisionally a severe reply to the request of Henry VIII, at the same time intrusting the examination of the question to Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey. Queen Catharine appealed from a judgment that she rightly considered too favorable to the king and insulting to the memory of Julius II.

The cause, being carried to Rome, was placed in the hands of Paul Capizucchi, dean of the Rota, who examined it during three years, in the hope that the king, repenting, would abandon his demand.

Henry then constituted himself judge in his own cause, and married Anne Boleyn in 1533.

Henry had sent Cardinal Campeggio out of Great Britain, and had withdrawn his favor from Wolsey. The pontiff,

informed of what was passing in England, issued a bull excommunicating Henry, unless within one month he took back his lawful wife Catharine and dismissed Anne Boleyn. But entreaties, wholesome advice, threats, exhortations, and promises of affection were all alike ineffectual upon the mind of Henry. This business was treated with much delicacy, and all Europe knew that an excommunication was almost always followed by pardon, when the guilty made the least show of repentance. Clement assembled a consistory on the 23d of March, 1534. There were present twenty-two cardinals, all who were then in Rome, and there the pope declared the marriage between Henry and Catharine valid. Only three cardinals were in favor of granting the divorce; the other nineteen condemned the king to respect the marriage. The sentence pronounced by the pope, the cardinals consenting, was a consequence of this decision; the censures were confirmed, and it was said that the king had already incurred them.

Those who, from an unforeseen case, make a rule for anterior facts, accuse Clement of imprudence in this deliberation. They say: "If that pontifical sentence had been deferred, as suggested by Francis I, King of France, the English schism would not have occurred; for, six days after the excommunication was pronounced, letters arrived at Rome in which the King of France announced that Henry submitted to the Holy See and promised to obey the pontifical judgments, provided that the pope did not cut him off from the communion of the faithful. Henry further desired that those who were under his suspicions should be excluded from the examination of the cause, and that commissioners should be sent to Cambray to hear the arguments, motives, and excuses that would be presented by the king's delegates."

Moreover, Clement's accusers add that scarcely twenty-

one months elapsed between the separation and the death of Catharine, and that with her death the controversy would necessarily have ended, had it lasted till then. But it will be replied, in favor of Clement, that he had not, with the pontificate, received the gift of prophecy, and that he had to deal, not with what might (or might not) be in the hidden future, but with what was before him in the active visible present. Catharine might long survive, and Henry, who had married Anne Boleyn in 1533, remained in a state of divorce. Clement had long waited: perhaps some of his advisers hoped that circumstances would arise to change the state of the question. The behavior of Henry, the sanctity of the sacrament of marriage trampled under foot, the contempt with which he had treated the words of the head of the Church, all these circumstances demanded that power should remain with the pope.

There are other motives to add. The king no longer listened to the suggestions of reason, and would not yield; the English clergy was rich, and might be plundered without the king renouncing his passion.

Immense abbeys, considerable lands, income, benefices, a portion of the landed revenue of England, passed into the hands of the king's minions.

On receiving news of the excommunication, Henry entirely abolished the pontifical authority in his kingdom. He refused the annual tribute which had been paid to the Holy See from the days of Ina, King of the West Saxons of England, under the reign of Innocent III. He threatened with death all who recognized the pope's supremacy. He forbade prayers for the pope. He compelled the clergy to recognize him by oath as head of the Church, constituted immediately by Christ. For this he made a new ordination of bishops. He adopted a host of the Lutheran errors, and they named

him the Postilion of the Reformation; and, finally, from all the various sects he formed such a mixture as banished the Catholic religion from the entire kingdom.

Meanwhile a diet had assembled at Worms, to which Clement sent his nuncio in order to conciliate the Lutherans, who had so greatly increased the disturbances in Europe. Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, had decided, in that diet, in concert with most of the princes and cities of the empire, that the decree should be acted upon which the emperor had published at Worms, with some orders calculated to arrest the progress of heresy. But some other princes, partisans of Lutheranism—John, Elector of Saxony; George, Elector of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, dukes of Lunenburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt —with but too many of the imperial cities—Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Memmingen, Lindau, Heilbronn, Saint Gall, and others—protested against the decree of the diet. It was by this act of protestation that the Lutherans acquired the name of Protestants, which distinguishes them from others.

During all these misfortunes, during all these poignant griefs of the faith, other disasters seemed to menace the Church. Soliman, with a terrible military array, prepared in person to invade the kingdom of Hungary. King Ferdinand called on the Holy Father for assistance. Clement, still generous, in spite of all that had occurred in Rome, neglected no opportunity to connect himself more closely with Charles V. He asked that prince whether he would receive the pontiff in Spain, or would himself go to Italy, that they might hold a conference. Charles, with a respectful deference, replied that the pope should himself appoint their place of meeting. It was agreed that the pope should go to Bologna, and that Charles should meet him there. But Clement, afflicted by

a cruel disease, was obliged to defer his journey, and even for some time to renounce the fatigues of government; and, accordingly, he named for the temporary government of Rome four cardinals—Alessandro Farnese, Andrew della Valle, Augustine Spinola, and Paul Cesi. Shortly afterwards his health enabled the pope to set out.

On the 24th of February, 1530, Clement solemnly gave the crown to Charles V. He was the last emperor who received it from the hands of the pope. The ancient ceremonies were observed. Charles V, wearing the crown, held the stirrup of the horse that the pope mounted for the solemn cavalcade. The ceremony was also fulfilled of receiving the emperor-elect as canon of the Vatican, previous to the coronation, in the Chapel of Saint Mary, between two towers which are near the basilica. In the Church of Saint Petrona, at Bologna, a magnificent chapel was built, which was to replace that of Saint Mary.

Several days after, the pope published a bull to make up for any ceremonies of the old rite that might have been omitted. Then, following the example of Leo X, Clement granted that the kingdom of Naples should, during the life of Charles, be considered part and parcel of the Germanic Empire.

Clement, thus friendly with Charles V, desired to become also more intimately and undoubtedly the friend of Francis I.

On the 9th of September, 1533, the pope proceeded to Pisa. Thence he embarked on the French galleys, and disembarked at Marseilles to discuss the proposed marriage of his niece, Catharine de' Medici (afterwards mother of three kings—Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III), to the Duke of Orléans, afterwards Henry II.

On this occasion, Clement, considering himself a traveller,

renounced an ancient custom, and sat at table with the queen, wife of Francis I. Bercastel, in the History of the Church, describes the magnificence of Clement's entrance into Marseilles.

Clement returned to Rome, where he had decided that his successor should be chosen in case of his own death during this journey. At Rome he fell sick, and, after six months' suffering, died on the 25th of September, 1534, after governing the Church ten years, ten months, and seven days.

He had appointed as testamentary executors Cardinals Cibo, Salviati, Ridolfi, and Medici; leaving them a sum of money to pay the expenses of his tomb and that of Leo X. The tomb, in the Church of La Minerva, contains the bodies of Leo X and Clement VII.

Clement VII was a pope of invincible firmness in the calamities and miseries of his time, which oppressed not only Rome, but all Christendom. He had been a successful cardinal; for, under Leo X, he administered all things prosperously.

But it is certain that his pontificate was fatal to Rome, if we take into consideration the progress of Lutheranism, the English schism, and that abominable invasion of Rome.

Many writers say that Clement was odious to the courts, suspected by the princes, of doubtful faith, niggardly, and but little addicted to distributing benefits; but they cannot help confessing that, in his actions, he was grave, sagacious, and of great genius, when unforeseen circumstances did not compel him to change his resolution.

One of his greatest virtues was the clemency with which he pardoned Cardinal Soderini, who was his sworn enemy, and who afterwards was his friend and panegyrist. On the provisional tomb erected for him at the Vatican, the following inscription was very justly placed: "To Clement VII,

sovereign pontiff, whose invincible firmness was only exceeded by his clemency."

Clement enriched the Vatican Library with a great number of volumes. A great many of this pope's letters are extant, to the King of France, the King of England, and some men of learning. His letters to Charles V, published under the title Epistolæ Clementis VII ad Carolum V; alteræ Caroli V Clementi respondentis (4to, 1527), are very rare.

After continuing the plans relating to the mausoleum of Julius II, Michelangelo, previous to the misfortunes of Rome, went to Florence; thence he returned to Rome. He intended, on settling there, to divide his time, according to the wish of Clement VII, between preparations for the new painting in the Sistine Chapel and finishing the works on the mausoleum of Julius II, which were to be terminated on an extremely reduced plan.

Under Clement was commenced the fresco of the Last Judgment, which was not finished until 1541, under Paul III. In connection with that work, we may apply to Michelangelo a passage of Pliny, lib. xxxv: "Pinxit et quæ pingi non possunt"—"He painted even those things which cannot be painted."

The Holy See remained vacant seventeen days.

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PAUL III—A.D. 1534

PAUL III, previously styled Alessandro Farnese, of an ancient Roman family, was the son of Luigi Farnese and of Giovanella Gaetani, daughter of the Duke of Sermoneta. He was born at Rome, on the 28th of February, 1468. The tutor of his earlier years was Pomponius Leti; but being subsequently sent to Florence, he there made rapid progress in Greek and Latin.

On his return to Rome, he was appointed apostolical prothonotary by Innocent VIII. Alexander VI made him treasurer of the chamber; and on the 21st of September, 1493, created him cardinal, when he was only twenty-five years of age.

When Charles VIII entered Italy, the pope sent Cardinal Alessandro to meet the king. Julius II made him Bishop of Parma. It was Cardinal Alessandro Farnese who crowned Leo X, by whom he was created Bishop of Frascati.

The rare qualities of Farnese made him a favorite of Clement VII. That pontiff, when at the point of death, exclaimed: "If the pontificate was given by bequest, we should in our last will and testament name Cardinal Farnese as our successor."

For forty years Cardinal Farnese had maintained the dignity of the purple; he was wanting in no qualification, and all judged him worthy of the tiara.

After the funeral of the deceased pope, on the 11th of October, 1534, thirty-seven electors met in conclave; the first day by inspiration, and the second by ballot, they

elected, as pontiff, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who was then sixty-six years of age.

There was universal joy in Rome; it was the first time since Martin V, and after the lapse of one hundred and three years, that the city had seen a Roman seated in the chair of Saint Peter.

Alessandro took the name of Paul, because he was born under the reign of Paul II.

Henry VIII continued to exhibit his rage. It was discovered that long before he received the bull of excommunication he had already decided in council upon the fatal separation with which he threatened the Holy See.

Rome had not been wanting in prudence, and throughout the affair had fulfilled her most sacred duties, without neglecting any of the rules of circumspection, humanity, or that spirit of concord which distinguished her. It was not in the power of Rome to do more, and no human power could have warded off the blow. Henry at length sent Anne Boleyn to the block, and married his third wife, Jane Seymour, one of Anne Boleyn's maids of honor. A fourth wife, Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves, succeeded Jane, who probably escaped the ax only by dying in childbed. Let us pass over the execution of the fifth wife, Catharine Howard, convicted, it was said, of adultery, and condemned to be beheaded.

Henry had destroyed two cardinals, three archbishops, eighteen bishops, thirteen abbots, five hundred priests and monks, and quite innumerable victims among the lower ranks.

From all parts arose loud protestations. Paul, by a bull of the 29th of November, 1535, excommunicated Henry. That prince was cited to appear at Rome, in person or by ambassador, within ninety days, to answer for his

conduct. As he did not obey, the Holy Father confirmed the excommunication on the 27th of December, 1538.

The Church was now afflicted by a vast number of heretical sects. Besides Luther and the Anabaptists, the lists had to be kept against no less hostile writers, the followers of Zwinglius, Picard, Ochino, Bucer, Melanchthon, Beza, and Calvin. The partisans of this last received different names in the different countries in which they spread themselves. They were called Calvinists in Germany, Sacramentarians in Switzerland, Picardins in Bohemia, Gueux (or beggars) in Flanders, Puritans in England, and Huguenots in France.

The apostasy of Ochino was one of the liveliest sorrows of Rome. He was general of the Capuchins, and the extinction of that order had been spoken of, on the plea that it was infected by the errors of its head. Paul held a secret consistory, and proposed, in presence of all the cardinals, to abolish that order. All the cardinals were on the point of agreeing with the Holy Father, when Cardinal Antonio San Severino spoke. In an eloquent and generous speech, he urged that it was necessary to act with perfect justice in the matter. He dwelt upon the services which the Capuchins had rendered, their learning, their zeal for preaching, and the courage with which they suffered poverty and gloried in it. Cardinal da Carpi was appointed to examine the dogmatic conduct of the members of the order; and those useful friars, so beloved by the people, so simple and so docile, were maintained in their privileges, which the pope was even inclined to augment.

For the purpose of endeavoring absolutely to destroy all the heresies, the pope despatched nuncios to all the Christian princes to announce his intention of assembling a general council to afford a remedy for all those evils; and on the 2d of June, 1536, he published a bull, which was signed by twenty-six cardinals. In it he declared that the sacred con-

gress would assemble at Mantua. Duke Frederic having suggested reasons why that would not be the fitting place, the pope decided, in 1537, that the council should be held at Vicenza. The German bishops raised some difficulties. At length the city of Trent was named, situated on the German and Italian frontier, and much desire was felt for the first session, which was not commenced until later.

The complaints of the opponents had chiefly related to infractions of ecclesiastical discipline. Paul knew the evil, and he desired to give satisfaction on that subject to all good Catholics. He formed a congregation consisting of nine persons, equally distinguished for learning and piety, from among those superior persons who are never rare in Rome.

These commissioners drew up a book which contained the principal articles necessary to the good discipline of the Church, and presented it to the pope; but he deferred its publication, wishing that, being first received by the council, it should have the greater authority.

The chapters contained in this work were then published in Germany, with explanations by the heretic Sturm. That is the reason why this counsel of this commission is named in the Index of forbidden books, as is proved by several authors; but that is explained by the poison of the explanation which Sturm added to a work otherwise advantageous to the Church.

Paul, grieving that war was kindled between Charles V and Francis I, and judging that it was likely to be prejudicial to religion, proposed to those two great kings that they should meet him in consultation and mutually give proofs of a union proper to extirpate heresies fatal to both kingdoms. The place for that interview was to be the city of Nice. Paul set out from Rome, while the emperor disembarked at Villa-

franca, and the Most Christian King went by land to Villanova.

The princes separately paid their homage to the pontiff, but he could not induce them to meet him together. In the interview with the King of France, the pope confirmed the privilege given by Eugene IV to Charles VII, which indult authorized the Parliament of Paris, even the lay members, to name, at their pleasure, persons qualified mentally and morally to the benefices beneath two hundred livres tournois.

The Holy Father had the sweet consolation of inducing the princes to sign a truce for ten years. Another piece of intelligence gladdened the heart of Paul. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, wrote word that it would probably be not difficult to bring about an agreement between the Catholics and the Protestants, if His Holiness would send into Germany some envoy illustrious alike for morals and for learning. Paul immediately cast his eyes upon the Cardinal Aleandro; but he, constantly deceived by the evasions of the Protestants, could effect nothing, and, by the pope's order, returned to Rome.

About this time the mausoleum of Julius II was completed. Clement VII wished the ornamentation of the Sistine Chapel to be all Michelangelo. He freed the artist from his disputes with the family of Julius. The original plan was very limited. Michelangelo was only to make three figures; the others, to the number of seven, were to be modeled only by Michelangelo, but finished under his direction.

Meantime, Ignatius Loyola had founded the Society of Jesus. In spite of the immense opposition and formidable warfare carried on against it, this society increased with marvellous success. On the 15th of September, 1539, Paul, at Tivoli, approved the institution, and confirmed it by bull dated 27th of December, 1540. This delay proves with what

wisdom and prudence affairs are decided upon at Rome. It was only on the 31st of July, 1543, that the pontiff approved the Spiritual Exercises, composed by the illustrious founder.

Ignatius was the first writer of his order. A century later it could number as authors no fewer than two thousand two hundred and thirty-eight of its sons, a number which increased wonderfully up to the time of the suppression of the society under Clement XIV.

In fact, it may be asserted that, up to this sad epoch, the order, in the course of a little more than two centuries, reckoned among its sons about twenty thousand writers, without reckoning those who wrote after its suppression. Zaccaria began to make a catalogue of them, and was only prevented by death from continuing that really prodigious series of authors. The Belgian Jesuits, the Fathers De Baeker, have, in a series of volumes, since given a full bibliography of the writers of the Society of Jesus.

In the year 1539 some citizens and zealous Romans formed, in the Church of the Minerva, of the Dominican Fathers, the Society of the Most Holy Sacrament. It was to see that the Blessed Sacrament was exposed in all the churches with becoming decency and veneration; it was also to take every care that the Viaticum was conveyed to the sick. The pope approved that holy institution, and granted it indulgences and privileges enjoyed by other societies under the same name, whether already then existing or subsequently to be instituted.

In 1541, on Christmas day, Paul III ordered the uncovering of the great work of Michelangelo, representing the Last Judgment.

At this period he gave the cardinalate to Henry, Infante of Portugal, who afterwards became king of that country.

We now hasten to record one of the most glorious epochs of the reign of Paul III.

On the 13th of December, 1545, the twentieth general council, known as the Council of Trent, and extending to 1563, held its first session in that city. The eighth was held on the 11th of March, 1547. At that time a terrible epidemic prevailed in the place, and the council was transferred to Bologna, where two sessions were held, in spite of the repugnance of Charles V, who pretended that the French had offended him, and who continued publicly to manifest serious discontent. That prince also showed great irritation against the pope. Paul, in 1545, had given Parma and Piacenza in fief to Peter Louis Farnese. That prince being killed by a conspiracy among his subjects, the emperor wished to treat Parma and Piacenza as belonging to the imperial domain, under the pretext that they formed part of the duchy of Milan.

Among the cardinals created in the eleventh promotion by Paul was Charles de Lorraine, son of Claude de Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, and of Antoinette de Bourbon, and brother of Cardinals John and Louis de Lorraine, and of Mary of Guise, wife of James Stuart, King of Scotland. Charles was born at Joinville, in Champagne, on the 17th of February, 1524. In 1538, when only thirteen years old, he was named Archbishop of Rheims, and as such he successively crowned three kings of France—Henry II, in 1547; Francis II, in 1557; and Charles IX, in 1560. He was a prince endowed with eminent qualities, but of such imperious disposition that Pius V called him "the tramontane pope." Pius IV had already named him "the second pope."

In the twelfth promotion of cardinals, 1548, were included Charles de Bourbon, son of the Duke of Vendôme, brother of Anthony, King of Navarre, and uncle of Henry IV, King

of France; and the other Cardinal de Bourbon, who was proclaimed king by the League on the 21st of November, 1589. Peace was not restored between the pope and the emperor. That monarch thought fit to publish at Augsburg a profession of faith that was drawn up by the Bishop of Nuremberg, the Bishop of Sinodia, and some writers; but at Rome it was considered that the emperor, in endeavoring to terminate the differences with the religious dissenters, had overstepped the rights of a temporal sovereign. For, in the twenty-six chapters of which that confession consisted, it treated of the principal dogmas of religion, of the sacraments, and of the ceremonies of the Church. There were two chapters contrary to the discipline of the Latin Church; one of them granted marriage to priests, the other permitted the laity to receive communion under both kinds. This formula having been published in Germany, to serve as a rule there until the council should decide and regulate points of faith, the name of Interim was given to this celebrated imperial promulgation. It is quite true that many other formulas of the same name were at various times granted by Charles V on the subject of religion, until formal decisions could be given by the council; but that which had the greatest circulation under the name of Interim was the one published on the 15th of May, 1548, when the council was actually in session. It was also called Interitus, because it was mortal to those who embraced it.

Some authors compare this formula to the similar ones called Henoticos, Ecthesis, and Type, and compare Charles V to the emperors Zeno, Heraclius, and Constantius, authors of those three famous formulas.

It is certain that the Interim was disapproved by the pope, who thought it extraordinary that the emperor should undertake on his own part to regulate matters of religion in the

empire. The Interim was also attacked by Catholic and even by Protestant writers. Among the former were Robert, Bishop of Avranches; Conrad Clingius, theologian of the order of Saint Francis at Rome; and Francis Remée, general of the Dominicans. Among Protestants were Gaspar d'Aquila, Philip Melanchthon, and John Calvin himself.

To obviate the evils which might arise from that Interim, the Holy Father sent into Germany the bishops of Fano, Verona, and Ferentino, as apostolic nuncios. They had full powers to treat with Charles V and induce him to desist from his unfortunate course. The pope recommended a conduct full of mildness: he gave them faculty of dispensation as to the two articles, provided always that the purity of our religion should suffer no prejudice. But the nuncios soon perceived that the obstinacy of the Protestants would yield not a jot on the subject of the partaking of the cup, and that their preachers, who, for the most part, were apostate monks, would by no means consent to leave the women with whom they had contracted a sacrilegious union; so the vigilant and courageous pope could effect nothing by the negotiation. It is established, then, that in this affair Paul was only conciliatory, and merits none of the reproaches which have been rashly addressed to him after the event.

Charles V had occupied the State of Piacenza, and the pope had ground to fear that the State of Parma would also be occupied. The son of the assassinated prince claimed to rule, as successor to his father. All these affairs, besides other circumstances that might be blamed, could not be brought to a happy issue, because the pope was old and suffering. The conduct of Octavius Farnese so violently irritated the pope that he became dangerously ill. Prompt remedies brought him to himself, but the death-blow was struck. A fever came on, which terminated the pontiff's life

on the 10th of November, 1549, at the age of eighty-one years, eight months, and ten days, after having governed the Church fifteen years and twenty-nine days. It has been remarked that he created seventy-one cardinals, among whom two were his nephews, and four his successors, Julius III, Marcellus II, Paul IV, and Pius IV.

Paul died in the palace of the heirs of Cardinal Caraffa, at the Quirinal, which he had occupied on account of the purity of the air. His body was then removed without pomp to the Vatican Basilica, and placed in a temporary tomb. Afterwards it was laid in a magnificent tomb, the work of the famous William della Porta, called the Lead Brother (del piombo), because it was his office to affix the leaden seal to the pontifical bulls. This tomb was executed under the direction of Michelangelo and the superintendence of Annibale Caro.

It is said that Paul III, just before his death, repeated these words: "If mine shall have no dominion over me, then I shall be without spot, and I shall be cleansed from the greatest sin" (Ps. xviii. 13).

In the Biographie Universelle it is said: "Paul III was naturally gentle and moderate; he loved poetry and wrote it with facility. His letters to Erasmus and Sadolet are full of erudition. Feller says that this pope wrote dissertations on some of the writings of Cicero."

Novaes, in his notice of Paul III, bestows great praises upon his virtue, his prudence, his justice, his greatness of soul, his firmness in adversity, his moderation, his magnificence, and his acquaintance with both divine and human things.

Rome was disfigured by many deserted and neglected streets; the houses were isolated from each other. Paul gave them a better form; he made the streets straight and clean.

The Romans thanked him by dedicating a statue to him in the Capitol. He it was who set up the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitol square. In the barbarous tenth century the populace called it the statue of Constantine. Sixtus IV removed it to the square of Saint John Lateran, as being an admirable sculpture of the ancient Romans. Whenever Pietro of Cortona passed that horse, he would exclaim, "Why do you not walk; do you not know that you are alive?"

It was Paul III who opened the street that connects the bridge of Sant' Angelo with the Strada Giulia, which, finished in 1543, still bears the name of the Pauline Street. On the Aventine he constructed a very fine bulwark, which is still the admiration of engineers. He completely restored the Basilica of Saint John Lateran. To him also the Vatican is indebted for the Pauline Chapel and the Royal Hall, in which solemn embassies were received. Rome was not the only recipient of his favors; the fortress of Perugia is also due to him, and he added some fine defensive works to the citadel of Ancona. The whole Christian world lamented the death of Paul III.

The Holy See was vacant two months and twenty-five days.

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JULIUS III—A.D. 1550

JULIUS III (Gianmaria de' Ciocchi del Monte), the son of a famous Roman jurisconsult, was born on the 10th of September, 1487.

Julius II, in 1512, made him Archbishop of Manfredonia, when he was only twenty-five years of age. Paul III created him cardinal in 1536. He was the first who presided as apostolic nuncio at the Council of Trent. On all occasions Cardinal del Monte displayed so much intellect, justice, prudence, and skill that he had the reputation of being the most distinguished member of the Sacred College. It was he who, in concert with the Cardinal Guidiccioni, reformed the tribunal of the Rota.

As soon as the death of Paul III was known, Cardinals Salviati, Gonzaga, Cibo, de la Rovera, Madrucci, del Monte, Truchsess, Doria, and Pacheco, who were at Trent and Bologna, set out for Rome. The electors formed three factions—the Cæsarians, the French, and the Farnesians. Before they assembled in conclave, they resolved to choose the best candidate among those worthy of the tiara, and in that number were Cardinal Pole, Sfondrati, father of the future Gregory XIV, Da Carpi, and Ridolfi. Serious fears were felt in the conclave, because Pompey Colonna, after the death of the pope, had occupied Paliano and other castles of his family which had been confiscated, and which he had retaken, as he stated, to maintain his rights. In consequence, the protection of Rome was intrusted to Horatio Farnese, who had four thousand men under his command, and who was sup-

IVLIVS ▲ III ▲ PAPA ▲ ARRETINVS

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ported and assisted by four tribunes—Torquato Conti, Julius Orsini, Nestor Baglioni, and Papirio Capizucchi. Usually the conclave met on the eleventh day after the death of a pope, but on this occasion it did not meet until the nineteenth day. The delay was solicited by the French cardinals, to give the other cardinals time to come from France. For the first time there were introduced into the conclave six physicians and six surgeons, of various nationalities.

After the customary ceremonies, Cardinal Pole, of the royal blood of England, was proposed for pope. He was illustrious for both knowledge and piety. In a ballot he needed only two votes, and the cardinals immediately determined to elect him by way of adoration. The day was drawing to a close, and it was believed that this impulsive movement of adoration, which leads the cardinals to proclaim aloud the name of the pontiff-elect, was about to decide the question, when Cardinal Pole, with unmoved countenance, and opposing the strength of his virtue to that lively impulse, observed that, God being the author of light, it was not right thus to decide in the dark, and he entreated the conclave to postpone the election until the next day. Nothing could be more welcome to his adversaries. They made use of the authority of Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Paul IV, who was renowned as a learned and pious man, and they insinuated that Pole was suspected of Lutheranism, because, when legate at Viterbo, he had not displayed great energy against those accused of heresy. Then Cardinal Alvarez de Toledo was thought of, a relation of the Duke of Alba, viceroy of Naples. He had the favor of the emperor and of Cosmo, Duke of Florence; but he also lacked two votes, which he could not obtain.

Farnese was favorable to Cardinal Cervini, but the emperor was against him. The French proposed Salviati, a

Florentine, and Rudolph da Carpi: the former celebrated as a negotiator under Leo X, Clement VII, and Paul III; the other recommended by Catharine de' Medici, Queen of France. Neither of them was agreeable to Cardinal Farnese. The King of France had vainly put forward Cardinal d'Este. The struggle lasted two months, and an agreement seemed impossible, when the votes suddenly centred on Cardinal del Monte, though he had been opposed by all three parties, the Imperialists, the French, and Farnese himself. The election was decided on the 7th of February at three o'clock at night, by Italian reckoning of time (i.e., nine o'clock in the evening). The conclave consisted of forty-eight cardinals—twelve French, two Germans, five Spaniards, and one English; the other twenty-eight were Italians or Romans. Thirty-two votes, two thirds of the whole, were requisite.

The new pope was sixty-three years of age. He was crowned on the 22d of February by Cardinal Cibo, first deacon, and took the name of Julius III, in memory of Julius II, who had given the cardinal's hat to Antonio del Monte, uncle of the new pontiff.

On the 24th of June, 1550, the day of the feast of Saint John, Julius took possession of Saint John Lateran.

On the first day of his pontificate the pope reduced the amount of imposts, and especially that on wheat. This measure, contemplated by Paul III, had been prevented by his death.

During the conclave the forty-eight electors had agreed that whoever should be elected would be held pledged to recall Orsini, governor of Parma, and restore that principality to Octavius Farnese. Julius III, on his accession, was faithful to his engagement, and gave the government of Parma to Octavius, with the title of Vessillifere (standard-bearer) of the Holy See.

The jubilee, announced by Paul III, was then opened, and it was in this year (1550) that the pious institution of the Santissima Trinità de Pelegrini commenced its charitable operations. This distinguished work, founded by Saint Philip Neri, may, as Novaes suggests, be called the "miracle of Christian charity." It is intended for the reception of all convalescents who are discharged from the hospitals of the city, and of the pilgrims who go to Rome to visit the holy places. Pilgrims receive hospitality there for three days.

This year Italy suffered much from a great scarcity, and Rome was burdened by the presence of an immense number of paupers. Julius imported breadstuffs, and his action restored plenty.

During the jubilee the indulgences are suspended throughout the world. The pope excepted those which were granted to the Society of Jesus. At Trent, Julius had known Faber, Lainez, and Salmeron, theologians of the pope, and therefore he gave the society numerous marks of his favor, and confirmed it by new bulls.

On the 31st of May, 1550, Julius made his first promotion of cardinals; he gave the hat to Innocent del Monte, who, it is said, had been adopted as a son by Baldwin del Monte, brother of the pope. This selection made an unfavorable impression, Innocent del Monte not appearing worthy of such an honor. On account of the care he had bestowed upon a domestic animal belonging to the pope, this favorite was called at Rome the Cardinal della Scimia. He had neither talents nor conduct to recommend him; the other cardinals never showed him any regard. In a second promotion the selection was wisely made, and included men from all parts of Christendom who were worthy of such a dignity.

Julius knew how useful the council general, of which he

had been president, might be made, and he convoked it to meet at Trent, with the Cardinal Marcellus Crescenzi as president. To that cardinal he added, as nuncios, Sebastian Pighini, Bishop of Manfredonia, and Louis Lipomani, Bishop of Verona, desiring to do honor to the episcopacy that the heretics sought to abase.

The council, notwithstanding the opposition of the Protestant princes, opened its eleventh session on the 1st of May, 1551, and continued to its sixteenth session, celebrated on the 28th of April, 1552. Then the labors of that august assembly were interrupted by the war of Parma, and by that which the Lutherans had declared against Charles V, in concert with Henry II, King of France, who desired to weaken the emperor, and could not see that he at the same time was allying himself with the enemies of the faith.

In this conjuncture a diet was assembled at Passau, on the Danube, in which the Protestant princes, by a solemn treaty concluded in the year 1552, obtained liberty to exercise their religion. This treaty is called the Religious Peace, and formed part of the public law of the empire. By this agreement, confirmed at Augsburg in 1555, the emperor and the members of the empire, both Catholic and Protestant, engaged that they would do no violence to princes or States who embraced the novelties of Luther, or who persisted in the old and true religion. They promised that this union should not be disturbed by any differences of faith. The two parties, weary of the wars produced by the new heresy, concluded that treaty, in which Charles V, besides restoring liberty to the Landgrave of Hesse, who had been arrested in breach of good faith, made numerous concessions to the Lutherans, thenceforward called Protestants, because they had protested against the decrees of the Diet of Spires, which ordered all the members of the empire to respect the ancient

doctrine. Hence Protestants may call that Religious Peace the real foundation of the liberty which they have since enjoyed.

However, the belief that peace was perfectly restored was but vain. In order to obviate new afflictions, the pontiff, who feared that the ravages of the schism might extend still more in Germany, founded at Rome, by the care of Saint Ignatius Loyola, a college for the instruction of young Germans and Hungarians. They were intended for the priesthood in their own countries, to sustain the Catholic faith if it were shaken, and to restore it if it were destroyed. The pope contributed from his own funds towards the maintenance of the college, and each cardinal contributed according to his means. There was thus provided an annual income of three thousand and sixty-five crowns, which the beneficent Gregory XIII subsequently increased to the sum of ten thousand.

By a brief of the 31st of July, Saint Ignatius was himself invested with the direction of the college; his order, the Jesuits, being the principal professors.

At that time the Siennese expelled the Spanish troops from their city and from the military posts on the coast, and gave their allegiance to Henry II, King of France. Peter de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, then sent into Tuscany an army of twenty thousand infantry. It had to pass by the frontier of the Ecclesiastical States; and Julius, fearing a repetition of what had happened to Clement VII, guarded his frontier with eight thousand men. But the French and the imperialists carried into all the neighboring States the furies of the war. Julius endeavored, but in vain, to mediate between the belligerents. He then resolved to aid Cosmo de' Medici against the Siennese.

By a bull of the 26th of January, 1554, Julius ordered that there should never be two brothers cardinals at the same

time in the Sacred College; but this subsequently became obsolete.

Edward VI, King of England, dying on the 6th of July, 1553, Mary, his sister, succeeded to the throne. Julius employed the fitting means to bring back that nation to the faith. Cardinal Pole, whose sentiments were widely different from those attributed to him by Cardinal Caraffa, was sent to negotiate the return to concord and unity. Already, even, a solemn embassy was about to leave London for Rome to offer respectful obedience to the pope. But Julius had not the consolation of receiving these ambassadors; he died on the 23d of March, 1555, at the age of sixty-seven, after reigning five years, one month, and sixteen days.

Various reports have been circulated as to the cause of his death; the true cause was an uninterrupted succession of fits of the gout. He went to inspect the works going on at the famous villa, outside the Gate of the People, which still bears his name; braving the weather too much, he was attacked by the fever under which he sank.

Julius was of lofty stature. His eyes sparkled, his nose was long, and his countenance sometimes indicated irritability. But habitually he was mild, liberal, the friend of justice and of peace; and to those virtues he added knowledge and the gift of a captivating eloquence. Repenting of having annoyed the cardinals by giving the purple to the adopted son of his brother, he tried by every means to destroy the repugnance which that choice had caused to his own authority. Julius loved to grant to the cardinals all just and possible favors that they might ask, and even suggested such favors, and tried every method by which to make himself agreeable to the Sacred College. If he had not done something to oblige them, he was sleepless on the ensuing night. It is also remarked that Julius was often obliging to his

enemies. Bercastel describes him as one of those subaltern spirits that shine in the second rank, but suffer eclipse in the first; a firm soul, but short-sighted; fit to execute, but not to command. But too much has been said about that villa and the recreation that he sought there, which could be not otherwise than pure and innocent, as many cardinals daily visited him there, when the pope, retired for the time from strict etiquette, could welcome them to his table, and loved to assemble them there.

Julius introduced reforms into the Roman chancery. He founded a congregation of six cardinals, whose duty it was to ascertain the needed improvements in the collation of benefices. He ordered that any cardinal who possessed several bishoprics should choose one, at his own pleasure, and vacate the others within six months. He published a bull against laymen who meddled in the investigation of points of heresy; his object was to check the Venetians who had added lay inquisitors to the ecclesiastical inquisitors. Julius was incessantly watchful to preserve the peace of the Church and of Europe. He maintained the ecclesiastical immunity which many magistrates had violated in Spain, and which the French had attacked in Corsica. He restored the concordat of Nicholas V for the collation of benefices in Germany.

In Naples he appeased the disturbances caused by the censures of the Holy Inquisition, in such wise that while the guilty, who had agitated the kingdom, should be punished, their property should accrue to their nearest relatives, and not to the treasury, as the viceroy Peter de Toledo wished, who maintained that there, as in Spain, the property of heretics should go to the king's treasury.

Aided by Cardinal Cervini, he reformed the college of the cardinals and freed it from some abuses. He repressed the cupidity of several religious who were ambitious of the mitre,

by ordering that no one of them should ever be made bishop, unless with the express consent of his superior and of the cardinal-protector of the order.

Julius with inexpressible joy received Simon Sulaca, monk of Saint Basil, patriarch-elect of the East, sent by the Nestorians, who wished him to be confirmed and consecrated at Rome. Simon received this favor, and was sent back to his country with considerable gifts.

Julius founded at Rome the arch-confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre; he wrote to all the Catholic princes, exhorting them to give alms for the restoration of the churches in Syria; and he granted to the Society of the Holy Crucifix, at Saint Marcellus, the privilege of annually delivering one prisoner condemned to death, provided that he was not guilty of the crime of treason. The same privilege was granted to many other cities in Christendom.

The Holy See was vacant sixteen days.

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MARCELLUS II—A.D. 1555

THIS pope was celebrated for his horror of nepotism; he forbade all his nephews to come to Rome. He was born on the 6th of May, 1501, at Monte Sano, in the Marches, in the diocese of Osimo, near Loretto, and was originally named Marcello Cervini de Spannocchi. In his infancy he was of very feeble constitution, but gifted in mind. He became versed in Greek and Latin; he loved arts, and himself drew and sculptured with elegance.

A false report obtained circulation in Italy. It was affirmed,

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with all the effrontery of false science, that Italy was threatened by a general deluge, which would make no less ravage than that of Noah. It was even reported that Clement VII, at the advice of some fanatics, had taken refuge at Tivoli, hoping that its mountains would protect him against that scourge. But, if he went there, he no doubt had some sounder reason for it. Be that as it may, the populace and a great number of noblemen (for on such occasions all ranks sink to the populace) took precautions. Marcello thought that it was only needful for him to oppose to such absurdity the language of reason, wisdom, and sound natural philosophy. He wrote a dissertation upon that panic terror, and presented it to the pope; and the rumors which had disturbed the peninsula were quieted.

On the death of Clement VII, Marcello was regarded with favor by Paul III.

On the 18th of December, 1539, Marcello, being in France as apostolic nuncio, was created cardinal-priest, and then sent to Germany as legate a latere to Charles V, and subsequently accompanied that prince to Madrid.

When the nuncio left Spain, Charles V wished to reward him with a pension of ten thousand dollars. But Marcello declined, saying: "Hitherto I have been the minister of the pope; and such I wish to continue, without binding myself to any foreign prince." He had the title of Bishop of Reggio; but the friendship of the pope retained him at Rome, and to administer his diocese he deputed James Lainez, one of the companions of Saint Ignatius.

In 1545 Paul created Marcello president of the General Council of Trent, but recalled his friend to Rome when the Interim was published.

On the 5th of April, 1555, the electors, to the number of thirty-six, entered into conclave. Cardinals Ranucci Farnese

and Guido Ascanius Sforza immediately thought of placing Cervini, then aged fifty-four years, upon the throne of Saint Peter. That report having reached the ear of Cardinal Caraffa, he approached Cervini, and, kneeling, venerated him as pope, exhorting all the cardinals to elect him.

Thence they went to the chapel, where he was unanimously elected. On the 10th of April he was consecrated under the Latin form of his own name of Marcellus, because Saint Marcellus had always been invoked by the Cervini family.

The new pope had always been known for his piety, his knowledge, and his constant virtue. The Universal Church expected great good from this pontiff. From the first moment he showed great courage. The ambassador of his Catholic Majesty solicited the pardon of a criminal condemned for murder. Marcellus replied that it did not seem fitting to commence a pontificate by pardoning a homicide.

He always rose early, and, without calling for any of his servants, lighted his own lamp. This pope was accustomed to quote the words of Adrian V: "No man is more wretched than the Roman pontiff; all his felicity is bitterness. The chair of Saint Peter is full of thorns; and, moreover, its weight will oppress the strongest."

The austerity of Marcellus was such that he thought of banishing music from all the ceremonies of the Church. Palestrina, then chapel-master in the Vatican Basilica, begged him to postpone the execution of this project until he heard a Mass composed according to true ecclesiastical style. When Marcellus heard it sung by six voices on Easter day, he was affected even to tears, and he abandoned his first idea. This Mass was published under the title of the Mass of Pope Marcellus, and dedicated to his successor, Paul IV.

Marcellus, the implacable enemy of luxury, loved temperance alike in his food and in his expenses. It has been said

that he intended to suppress the Swiss Guard, saying: "It would be better for the pontiff to die by the hands of the wicked, should such a thing happen, than set an example of a disgraceful fear or an unnecessary pomp." Yet, without exaggeration, there are circumstances under which the Swiss Guard at Rome is indispensable. Moreover, a motive of policy has always existed for employing such troops. The Swiss who have been on guard at the Vatican take back into their own country a love of Rome which especially maintains the Catholic feeling of Uri, Unterwald, Lucerne, and of many other cantons.

The zeal of the pontiff for the reform of clerical discipline caused him to say that ecclesiastics with the care of souls should never be employed in public occupations. And it was his intention to confide the civil government of his States to laymen. He allowed none of his relatives, not even his brother Alexander, to approach Rome, where, says Novaes, the relatives of new popes always flock to receive the fertilizing dews of the Vatican.

Being urged to receive his nephews Richard and Herennius, and give them apartments in the palace, Marcellus replied: "What business have our nephews in the apostolical palace? Is it their patrimony?"

Whatever he promised he hastened to perform. "We would not be forced to blush," said he, "for being unfaithful, should we have promised and not kept our word."

All these virtues were extinguished by a violent fit of apoplexy, and he died after governing the Church only twenty-one days. He was interred at the Vatican. A surgeon was accused of having poisoned a wound in this pontiff's leg, caused by his fall from a horse; but the autopsy proved that that was false.

Marcellus was distinguished by his lofty stature. His face

was thin, his eyes black, and his countenance agreeable. One of his eyebrows was higher than the other. He rarely smiled; but sometimes he suddenly showed gaiety.

The Holy See was vacant twenty-one days.

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PAUL IV—A.D. 1555

PAUL IV (Giovanni Pietro Caraffa) was born on the 28th of June, 1476, at Capriglia, in the kingdom of Naples. At an early age he applied himself to the study of Scripture, and afterwards made great progress in the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages. By order of Leo X he resided at Venice. He was able not only to discuss points of dogma with the Greeks, but could with facility converse with the Jews in their own language.

Julius II, in 1505, made him Archbishop of Chieti. It is not correct to say that in his youth he took the habit of the Dominicans, nor that he resigned his archbishopric to assume the habit of the Benedictines; it is certain that he was always attached with the sons of Saint Dominic. It is also thought he at one time wished to enter the order of the Camaldolensians, but their superior, Paul Giustiniani, his great friend, would not receive him. He subsequently, with Saint Cajetan, founded the Theatines.

Julius II sent him to England to collect the "Peter's pence" which that kingdom paid to Rome. During the siege of Rome, Giovanni Pietro was violently persecuted by the Germans, and to escape such disasters he retired to Verona, and afterwards to Venice, with his monks.

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Paul III summoned him to Rome to aid him with his advice, alike as to the reform of church discipline and the labors of the council. Caraffa firmly and modestly refused, but the pope having thrice repeated his request, he was obliged to comply.

On his arrival at Rome he fell ill, and the pope resolved to give him the purple, which he received on the 22d of December, 1536. It is said that when the secretary, whose duty it was, presented the red hat with the usual compliments, Caraffa briefly thanked him, and then said: "Now hang the hat up on a nail."

Paul III, on the 15th of December, 1549, named Giovanni Pietro Caraffa Archbishop of Naples; but in consequence of the opposition of the viceroy Peter of Toledo, Caraffa was unable to take possession of that see until 1550, under the reign of Julius III.

After the funeral of Marcellus, forty-five cardinals, then in Rome, met in conclave on the 15th of May. The imperial ambassador at that time warned Caraffa not to become a candidate, as the emperor had excluded him. On receiving this unbecoming notice, Caraffa bravely replied: "If it is the will of God that I become pontiff, the emperor cannot prevent it; and I shall be all the more thankful, because I shall owe it to God alone."

The electors were upright. The imperial partisans preferred Cardinals da Carpi, Pole, and Moroni; but the cardinals attached to France would have none of them. To remove all subject of difference, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, in conjunction with Cardinal d'Este, proposed Caraffa. The French, who did not dislike that proposal, hastened to his room. Then Da Carpi and the cardinal of Toledo arrived, and they conducted him to the Pauline Chapel. Caraffa excused himself, and proposed the nomination of Cardinal

Nobili, a man of exemplary piety; but his appeal was disregarded. Caraffa was placed in a chair to receive adoration. He resisted and endeavored to get away. Farnese detained him. Cardinal Caraffa was almost infirm, and his hands were fastened to his chair. His lips alone still resisted and asked to be spared, but exclamations drowned his words. However, notwithstanding the noise, it was perceived that three votes were wanting, and in that case the mode of adoration often becomes mischievous to the objects of it. Then Cardinals Pazzo, Moroni, and Sforza, leaders of the imperial party, clearly perceiving that they would lose in the ballot, gave their votes; and Caraffa, dean of the Sacred College, at the age of seventy-seven years, was elected by the way of adoration, on Ascension day, May 23, 1555.

He declared that he retained his see of Naples, and that he would take the name of Paul, in evidence of the devotion he had always felt towards Saint Paul, and also to show his gratitude towards Paul III and the Farnese, who were the chief authors of his exaltation.

On the 26th of the same month he was crowned by Cardinal Pisani upon the steps of the Vatican, near the portico.

On the following day, reviving an old custom, he gave a banquet to the cardinals, the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and the ambassadors of the princes. So sumptuous a papal coronation was not previously known. The ceremony took place on a Sunday, according to ancient custom, which, however, had not been observed by Julius II, Leo X, Clement VII, Paul III, or Julius III.

The taking possession of Saint John Lateran occurred on the 28th of October, 1555.

Shortly after his exaltation, Paul summoned to his palace, as his secretaries, Casa, Gualenghi, Bini, and Fiorabelli, the most skilful Latin and Italian writers of that day.

Although the new pontiff, up to the time of his exaltation, had lived in the poverty prescribed to the Theatines, he determined to support with due splendor his sovereign dignity. His steward inquiring how he desired the appearance of his court and person to be provided for, he replied, "Magnificently, as becomes princes."

Subsequently, considering the austerity of his former life had inspired the Romans with some fear, he showed himself great and generous. He loaded them with favors, renewed old privileges, and gave them the city of Tivoli, the administration of which he took from Cardinal d'Este, whom he recompensed otherwise. The Romans soon learned to call him the delight of their city, and in their gratitude erected a marble statue to him at the Capitol, the work of Pirro Liguorio. Still more, they formed a company of one hundred and twenty horsemen, as an unpaid body-guard of the pontiff. Ten of them daily did duty in that honorable service, with which the pope showed himself much gratified. These guards were known as Knights of the Faith, or Knights of the Dove. Circumstances, however, brought about difficulties. The pope's declaration of war against Philip of Spain occasioned discontent in the guard, which depriving it of the pope's favor, it dwindled to insignificance.

Three English ambassadors arrived in Rome. They were sent to the Holy See by Philip and Mary, his wife, Queen of England. They asked pardon for the past errors of England. Paul affectionately embraced them, released the kingdom from all the censures it had incurred, and, to increase the dignity of its sovereign, he erected the island of Ireland into a kingdom, a title which had been given to it by Henry VIII and Edward VI, but without the sanction of the Holy See.

In his first promotion Paul created only one cardinal, his nephew Charles Caraffa.

Charles V, weary of governing Spain, where he had reigned thirty-eight years, and Germany, where he had reigned thirty-six years, a period during which he had gained forty victories and undertaken fifty journeys—nine in Germany, six in Spain, seven in Italy, ten in Flanders, four in France, two in England, two in Africa, eight in voyages on the Mediterranean, and two on the ocean—determined upon a voluntary abdication.

In 1556 he resigned the government of Spain to his son Philip II, husband of the Queen of England, and the administration of the empire to Ferdinand I, his brother. He reserved for his personal disposal a hundred thousand crowns, twelve servants, and a horse which he needed for exercise, and he retired to the monastery of Saint Just, of the order of Saint Jerome, upon the confines of Castile, where he died in 1558.

Ferdinand was then elected emperor; but Paul refused to approve the election, because, he said, it derogated from the apostolical dignity. Neither the abdication of Charles V nor the election of Ferdinand could be recognized without the consent of the Holy See, and the empire could only be considered vacant on the death of Charles V.

Meantime, the East Indies had in a great measure been converted to the Catholic faith by the apostle of the East, Saint Francis Xavier, one of the coadjutors of Saint Ignatius in founding the Society of Jesus.

While the Lutherans in Europe were calling for the destruction of the order, Francis with his own hands had baptized in Asia a million two hundred pagans. In fact, according to the calculation of Segner and Pichler, Francis won to the Church more souls than had been taken from her by all the heretics from Simon the Magician down to Luther and Calvin, in the course of fifteen hundred years!

At the solicitation of John III, King of Portugal, the Holy Father, in the month of February, 1558, erected the Church of Goa into an archbishopric, and established new sees in the places converted by Xavier.

On the 16th of December in the same year, Paul published a bull against all engaged in intrigues to reach the pontificate. Saint Charles Borromeo so strongly approved of this bull that when he returned to Rome he absolutely declined to talk about the future pope to either the Duke of Florence or Mark Antony Colonna.

For some months Paul had felt suspicious of his nephews, and his love for them began to cool.

The first to speak to the pontiff about the conduct of his nephews was the Duke of Guise, who, on his return from an unsuccessful expedition against Naples, told the pope that his nephews had betrayed the Holy See. On the other hand, Philip, King of Spain, ordered his ambassadors to prevent the pope from giving his confidence to Cardinal Caraffa, who had prevented the prince from giving his favor to Mark Antony Colonna.

In this state of affairs the pope, in a congregation of the Holy Office, spoke quite warmly against an abuse which was charged against Cardinal del Monte, whom on that account the pope proposed to deprive of the purple. Cardinal Pacheco attributed the fault to the youth of Del Monte. Then the pope, inflamed with a holy zeal, exclaimed, "Reform! reform!" "Most holily spoken," replied Pacheco, "but it must begin with us, with ourselves." The Holy Father was silent, thinking that these words applied to his nephews, who were guilty of greater excesses than those imputed to Del Monte.

The last blow to the influence of the nephews was given by Bongiano Gianfiliazzi, minister of the Duke of Florence,

who complained of grave insults received from Cardinal Caraffa. The cardinal had closed the door in the face of that minister, who had waited upon His Holiness on important business, to expose, in the name of his prince, great wrongs on the part of the cardinal; among others, that of levying intolerable contributions upon the clergy. The pope then privately consulted a pious Theatine, in whom he had full confidence, who completely enlightened him as to the disorders of which the Caraffas were guilty.

Paul, convinced of the misconduct of his nephews, assembled an extraordinary consistory, explained his family misfortune, and by a decree ordered that his nephews and all belonging to them, their mother, the wife of one of them, their sons, and all their servants, should leave Rome within twelve days. And then he deprived his nephews of their dignity and of the power which they had abused.

Cardinal Caraffa was exiled to Civita Lavinia, near Albano, and then to Marino. John Caraffa, Duke of Paliano, general of the Pontifical State, and prefect of the galleys, lost those high offices and was exiled at Gallese. Anthony Caraffa, Marquis of Montebello, was compelled to retire to his marquisate, situated in Romagna. All three were to be tried for high treason if they should leave their place of exile.

Some cardinals endeavored to intercede for the culprits, but the pope forbade their names to be mentioned. However, he retained near him Cardinal Alphonsus, son of Montebello, a young man only eighteen years old, because he was of an ingenuous disposition.

When the three exiles had left Rome, the pope said: "Now we can say and ought to say, 'Of our pontificate the first year.'"

Paul could say that, believing himself freed from the fetters of nepotism, but he might have added that it was also

the last year of his pontificate, for very soon after he was attacked by a fever, which, at eighty-three, he had no strength to resist, and he died three months after his severe but most just sentence. Like Vespasian, he said that a sovereign ought not to die in bed, and he ordered his pontifical vestments to be brought to him; but he was so weak that he could not rise, and he breathed his last on the 18th of August, 1559, after governing the Church four years, two months, and twenty-seven days. He was interred in the Vatican. In 1569 his remains were removed to the Dominican Church of La Minerva, by order of Saint Pius V.

The Biographie Universelle thus speaks of this pope's opinion of medicine: "This pontiff was passionately fond of the science of medicine, but though he considered physicians the first among the learned, he kept himself free from needing their cares. He had read the best authors on that science, especially Galen, in the Greek original. Caraccioli, in his manuscript life of Paul IV, spoken of by Marini, says that that pope was his own physician to the end of his days, and kept himself in an invariable state of vigor. He took no medicine and was never bled. Yet he so honored and favored physicians that all of them who were distinguished in Rome for their skill desired the title of archiatro, or chief physician to the pope, in the hope that by this title and the pope's favor they would attain success."

Paul IV was of lofty stature; he had a pale complexion, a stern glance, eyes sunken but bright, short nose, and scanty beard. His voice was deep, and his gestures indicated both modesty and dignity.

He was the author of that confession of faith which is now made by bishops when they take possession of their sees. He forbade the opening of any passages across churches, or mendicants begging in them, that people might not be dis-

turbed in their devotions. He instituted the ceremony of the Cavalcade to the Minerva, on the day of the feast of the Annunciation, and also the pontifical chapel, celebrated on the day appointed for honoring the memory of Saint Thomas Aquinas.

Paul was the first to order awnings to be placed to prevent the rain or the sun from interrupting the feast of Corpus Christi, which traverses the square of Saint Peter's.

Every year during the carnival he on one day invited the whole of the Sacred College to dinner. He said it was fitting that the prince should sometimes recreate himself with his brethren and his sons.

He twice saved Rome from famine at the expense of the treasury, which he well knew how to administer.

His table was magnificently served, but what he ate was barely sufficient to support life.

His fasts were not confined to those of obligation, and he contributed to restore the custom of fasting in the Church.

His sleep was very short and much interrupted. When unable to sleep at night, he would rise, but not disturb his servants, for fear, as he said, that he should deprive them of the "gift of God," as he styled sleep.

Great as were his virtues, they could not secure the constant affection of the Romans. His severity made him many enemies, so that after his death, although he had done justice upon his nephews, the people levelled the pontifical statue set up in the Capitol, threw the head into the Tiber, and destroyed the armorial bearings and all the monuments of the Caraffa family. This violence was punished in the following reign.

The Holy See was vacant four months and eight days.

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PIUS IV—A.D. 1559

PIUS IV (Giovanni Angelo de' Medici), born at Milan on the 31st of March, 1499, was the son of Bernardine de' Medici and Cecilia Serbelloni, an illustrious lady of Milan, where some members of the Medici family, driven from Florence by the violence of the civil wars, had taken refuge. Giovanni Angelo took the doctor's cap at the University of Bologna. He reached Rome on the 26th of December, 1527, the same day and at the same hour when, thirty-two years later, he was raised to the throne of Saint Peter. Clement VII named him apostolic prothonotary, and Paul made him governor, first of Ascoli, and then of Citta di Castello; five years afterwards of Fano, and then of Parma. Thence he was sent into Hungary with the general of the Italian troops. When he returned to Rome, in 1543, Paul commissioned him to settle a boundary dispute between Bologna and Ferrara.

Giovanni Angelo was next sent to Poland, as commissary against the Turks and Lutherans. He accompanied John Baptist Savelli, general of the pontifical troops, and auxiliary of Ferdinand, King of Hungary. Giovanni Angelo became, in succession, governor of Ancona, Archbishop of Ragusa, vice-legate of Bologna, under Cardinal Moroni, and then governor of Perugia and Umbria. Finally, on the 8th of April, 1549, he was created cardinal-priest of Saint Pudentiana.

Pope Julius III sent him as legate with the pontifical army that marched against Octavius Farnese. Peace being made in 1553, Charles V named him Bishop of Cassano, whence Paul IV, in 1556, transferred him to the see of Foligno.

From the title of Saint Pudentiana, Cardinal de' Medici passed to other titles, and at length to that of Saint Prisca.

After the novendiali, which commenced on the 23d of August, but from some unforeseen delays did not end till the 4th of September, the conclave assembled. It lasted four months. Forty-four electors could not agree upon a successor to Paul IV. At length, on the night following Christmas, Cardinal de' Medici was elected, not by ballot, but by acclamation. He owed his elevation chiefly to Cardinals Farnese, Sforza, de Guise, and Caraffa. The next day the cardinals repaired to the Chapel of the Scrutiny, and although there was nothing informal in the acclamation of the previous evening, they confirmed it by the ordinary ballot.

We must not forget to mention a stratagem employed in that same conclave to cause the choice to fall upon Cardinal Bartolommeo della Cueva, a Spaniard. His conclavist, an able man, secretly visited thirty-two of the cardinals separately, begging each to give a single ballot to his master, who would be very grateful for this solitary token of esteem. Each cardinal thus solicited, imagining that he alone was asked for that graceful act of politeness, promised his vote. When all met in the chapel, and each asked the other how he intended to vote, and each replied that for that single time he should give it to Cardinal della Cueva, the trick of Torres was discovered; but they could not prevent his master from obtaining seventeen votes. As thirty were needful, however, the trick was useless.

The newly elected pope, who took the name of Pius IV, was crowned on the 6th of January, 1560. Panvinio, in his life of this pontiff, observes that he was born on Easter day, elected on Christmas day, and crowned on Epiphany.

On the 28th of January, Pius IV, preceded by thirty-one cardinals, took possession of Saint John Lateran.

The pope immediately determined to show his zealous practice, as pontiff, of the virtues which had distinguished him when cardinal. At the instance of the Sacred College, and especially of Cardinal Caraffa, he pardoned the Romans for their violence at the death of Paul. However, he ordered that the senate should be present at the Mass celebrated on the 17th of January in expiation of the tumult, and that the city should pay the indemnities due for the damage done on that occasion.

Pius IV did not show equal leniency to Pompey Colonna, who, under the reign of Julius III, had killed his mother-in-law and now solicited pardon. "God forbid," replied Pius, "that we should commence our reign by the absolution of a parricide."

Shortly after, the pope confirmed Ferdinand in the imperial dignity, and received his ambassadors as those of a legitimate emperor, because, Charles V being dead, the reasons on which Paul had grounded the exclusion no longer existed.

The pope was urged to decide upon the fate of the ministers and nephews of his predecessor, who were detested by the populace. Pius IV then determined to show how he desired to be served in the government. On the 7th of June the two cardinals Caraffa, Charles, nephew of Paul, and his great-nephew Alphonsus, were put in prison. At the same time, John Caraffa, Count of Montorio and Duke of Paliano, and the nephew of Paul, together with various lords, were thrown into prison as accomplices in a crime committed upon the person of Brianza di Ascalona, wife of the said Duke of Paliano. Pius named a deputation of eight cardinals to conduct the trial of their colleagues Charles and Alphonsus Caraffa. It lasted until the 3d of March, 1561. In a consistory of that day the draft of the sentence was read.

The populace impatiently awaited the satisfaction given to the enemies of nepotism.

Charles was convicted of high treason. It was proved that he had deceived his uncle by perfidious and dangerous advice, especially on the subject of the Neapolitan war. He had persecuted various respectable persons, and kindled war between France and Spain by forged letters and signatures. That same night Cardinal Charles was put to death in the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Some time after, the Duke of Paliano was beheaded. The same punishment was inflicted upon the other prisoners.

Cardinal Alphonsus Caraffa was declared innocent and set free. But he was ordered to pay a hundred thousand Roman crowns damages to the apostolic chamber.

By this example of terrible severity, which undoubtedly dims the renown of this reign, the ministers were warned of the rigorous views and intentions of Pope Pius IV, ill applied as that rigor was.

To secure at the same time the fidelity of his subjects, although he had so sternly declared war against nepotism, he would intrust the care of his person and of his most important affairs only to one of his nephews, Charles Borromeo, aged twenty-three years. The Romans applauded the choice, although they detested the motive of relationship which had dictated it.

Other relatives also received the purple; among them was Giovanni de' Medici, son of Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Cardinal Giovanni, according to Florentine historians, was assassinated at the age of nineteen by his brother, Don Garcia, who pursued him with an envious and ferocious hatred.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Moroni, who had presided at the Council of Trent, and whom Paul IV had caused to be arrested upon several charges, solicited a trial, and entreated

Pius IV to order it to be conducted with the utmost rigor. A commission of cardinals, of whom Ghislieri, afterwards Pope Pius V, was one, declared, after deliberate examination, Cardinal Moroni absolutely innocent.

Shortly after, the pope turned his whole attention to the Council of Trent, which he wished to close. Revolutions in Europe had constantly interrupted it; and in the last conclave every cardinal had promised, if elected, to close it. Pius IV was resolved to keep his promise, and his former colleagues were no less sincere in inviting him to do so.

By a bull of the 23d of November, 1560, Pius IV convoked the continuation of that august assembly, which reopened on the 28th of January, 1562. That bull, however, met with some difficulties, because the King of France was not named in it, although the Eldest Son of the Church.

The sessions proceeded but slowly with business, owing to the pretensions of Claudius Vigilius de Guiñonez, Count de Luna, ambassador from Philip II of Spain, who, contrary to custom, insisted that his ambassadors should have precedence of the ambassadors of France. On the other hand, Arnold de Ferrier, president of the Parliament of Paris, and Guy de Pibrac, of Toulouse, the French ambassadors, strongly maintained the pre-eminence of their court. The pontiff decided in favor of the latter. The Spanish ambassador protested, and set out for Rome to represent to Pius IV that Svinsilla, King of Spain, was called by Honorius I, in 637, "the Catholic King," before Gregory III had called Charles Martel "Most Christian King."

"Catholic King" was one title, "Most Christian King" was another title. The debates on this dispute were renewed at Rome in 1564. Pius IV a second time decided in favor of the kings of France, and, if we may credit Muratori, Philip II took no offence at it.

On the 26th of February, 1561, Pius made another promotion, including (1) Bernard Salviati, originally a warrior, much feared by the Turks, then almoner to Catharine de' Medici, and afterwards cardinal of Saint Prisca. He had built at Rome, at the Lungara, the famous Salviati palace, which still exists, though in ruins. It was in that palace that he prepared to receive Henry III, who had promised to go to Rome, but was unable to accomplish that journey. (2) Stanislaus Osius, born at Cracow, son of King Sigismund Augustus, afterwards ambassador from the Emperor Ferdinand to the council. (3) Anthony Perrenot de Granvelle, born of a noble family at Ornans, in the diocese of Besançon, afterwards appointed by Philip II as councillor to Margaret, Duchess of Parma, governess-general of Flanders. He spoke correctly seven languages. (4) Louis d'Este, of the family of the dukes of Ferrara. (5) Louis Madrucci, a noble of the city of Trent. His family generously attended to all requests concerning the accommodation of the members of the council in that city. He was cardinal fifty-nine years and attended seven conclaves. He is only accused of having somewhat too haughtily defended the interests of Spain. (6) Mark Sitticus Altemps, a German, Baron of Hohenemps, born in his fief of Emps, and nephew on the maternal side of Pius IV. (7) Francis Gonzaga, of the family of the dukes of Ariano. (8) Iñigo Avalos di Aragon, a noble Neapolitan, knight of Santiago of Spain, and chancellor of the kingdom of Spain. (9) Francis Pacheco, a noble Spaniard. (10) John Francis Gambara, a noble of Brescia, celebrated for his prodigiously penetrating mind. It was seldom that in the most important affairs this cardinal failed to predict the issue. He was one of the chief ornaments of the conclaves at which he was present.

Other prelates, distinguished in literature, also obtained

the purple in the same consistory. The list we have given shows that the purple was sought by the first families of Europe and even by the sons of sovereigns.

It was by such cares and such precautions that Rome replied to the Lutherans, who persisted in representing the Sacred College as filled by people without rank, celebrity, talent, or priestly qualities. All the subjects whom we have named deserved universal esteem for their piety and sincere attachment to their duties. From time to time the princes who were partisans of Luther insisted that the council should be celebrated in Germany. But it was replied that it would be wrong deliberately to deliver the lambs into the power of ravenous wolves. The Protestants also made the intolerable demand that the pope should not preside, and that the ministers of the Confession of Augsburg might speak and vote.

Those unjust demands might produce fatal consequences. The pope feared that the Calvinists might do in France what the Lutherans had done in Germany. Thus he earnestly endeavored to put an end to the council while the Church was still at peace.

The twenty-fifth and last session, then, was celebrated, and on the 3d and 4th of December, 1563, all the chapters and canons, formed under various popes, were read. Those decrees were approved by the Fathers, without the unity of the council being injured by its interruption.

Paul III had convoked it at Mantua, in 1536; and the following year, without any effect, at Vicenza; then, in 1542, at Trent, where it opened in 1545. After seven sessions it was transferred, in 1547, to Bologna, where for four years nothing was done. Under Julius III, in 1551, it was resumed at Trent, and suspended in the same city till 1560. Then it was again convoked under Pius IV, who, as we have said, successfully terminated it.

There has been no council, if we consult all the venerable past, in which so many questions were treated on dogmas, discipline, and morals. These matters have never been better defined than in that assembly, which may be regarded as the faithful image and perfect completion of all other councils. Finally, to sum up, after twenty-seven, counting from the meeting at Mantua, and after eighteen years, counting from the first session at Trent, that great council was ended and signed by two hundred and fifty-five Fathers; that is to say, four legates, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proxies for absent bishops, and seven generals of religious orders.

At the earnest request of the Fathers, Pius IV, by his bull of the 26th of January, 1564, solemnly approved the council, prohibiting and annulling all commentary or interpretation. By another bull of the 18th of July, he declared that all the decrees of the Council of Trent relating to reform and positive right were obligatory from the 1st of the May preceding. To insure strict obedience to its decrees, the pope by his bull Benedictus Deus established a congregation, consisting of eight cardinals, who were to have the right of inspection over the execution of the canons, reserving to himself the interpretation of the decrees; excluding all others from interference, on pain of excommunication.

Sixtus V subsequently limited the jurisdiction of this congregation to questions on the reformation of morals, and not those relating to faith.

The first sovereign who showed his zeal in submitting to the Council of Trent was the young King Sebastian of Portugal, who, seven years earlier, had succeeded his pious grandfather John III. As soon as Sebastian received the bull of confirmation, he thanked the pope with the most ten-

der respect, congratulated His Holiness upon the happy issue of his labors, and promised with his whole strength to support the authority of the Holy See and that of the council, and protested that he had nothing so deeply at heart as to cause the faithful execution of all the decisions, dogmatical or disciplinary, given by the holy synod.

The Venetians also earnestly accepted the council. The pope, on that subject, warmly praised them, and pointed to the senate as an example for other powers. Not contented with that, the pope presented to the republic the palace of Saint Mark, at Rome, which was put at the disposal of the Venetian ambassador. Venice gratefully gave, in her turn, to the Holy See the magnificent palace Gritti, which became the residence of the apostolic nuncio.

The council did not immediately find equal acceptance in the kingdoms of Spain and France. The decrees on faith, doctrine, and discipline, opposed by the heretics, were accepted, but some touching reform and discipline were not absolutely admitted. Such reservations do not appear to obtain now.

At this time there arrived at Rome Abhd-isho (servant of Jesus), a monk of the order of Saint Anthony, a very learned personage. He sought the pope's confirmation in the title of Patriarch of Mozul, in eastern Syria. He made his profession of faith, which had already been read in the twenty-second session of the council, and he signed it for presentation to the pope, who sent him back to his country with rich presents.

The pontiff permitted Cosmo, first Duke of Tuscany, to found, for the defence of the faith and the safety of the Mediterranean, the military order of Saint Stephen, pope and martyr. Pius IV, after receiving the requisite information, approved the statutes of that order, which was to follow

the rule of Saint Benedict, and the three vows of charity, conjugal chastity, and obedience to superiors. The bull of the pope named Cosmo and his successors grand masters of the order. Honorable privileges were granted to them. The habit of the order was of great magnificence. The Grand Duke Ferdinand reformed those statutes in 1590, and other popes granted new honorary rights. Among others, Benedict XIV granted them the privilege to speak to the pope without previously depositing their swords in the anteroom. The same privilege—which, moreover, is granted to the entire diplomatic body—has also been granted to the knights of the royal order of Charles III of Spain.

The cross of the Knights of Saint Stephen is red, and very little different from that of the Knights of Malta.

Philip II had honored with his patronage Mark Antony Colonna, who had addressed many petitions to the Holy See. The pope restored to that Roman prince the lands of his family, which had been confiscated by Paul IV. The Catholic king, under these circumstances, favoring the views of pontifical nepotism, gave to the nephew of Pius IV, Frederic, Count of Arona, the duchy of Oira, in the kingdom of Naples, together with a considerable pension.

At this time a great promotion of cardinals occurred. The pope created as members of the Sacred College (1) Frederic Gonzaga, of the dukes of Mantua; (2) Ferdinand de' Medici, of the family of the dukes of Tuscany, who subsequently, not being in holy orders, resigned the hat and became Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1588.

To put an end to the dispute as to precedence between the regular canons of Saint Augustine and the Benedictine monks, Pius decreed, in 1564, that the first, as clerics, should precede the monks in acts public and private; but that in the councils and other places in which both gave their votes, the

precedence should belong to each of the abbots of those orders according to the seniority of promotion in their abbeys.

In the consistory held on the 27th of November, 1564, the pope exhorted the cardinals not to make use of carriages, which had been introduced by the Marchioness of Mantua and other ladies. Subsequently carriages were in such general use in Rome that Saint Charles Borromeo used to say: "Omnia vanitas, præter currum in urbe"—"All is vanity, except a carriage in Rome." It was the pope's will that the cardinals should ride on horseback in the city. Charles V, in fact, on his return from Rome, said that the sight that most struck him in that city was the procession of cardinals going on horseback to the consistories. It is certain, moreover, that in 1582, according to Mark Antony Valena, the cardinals, when they went to the palace, went pontifically, on horseback, and even had the power, if they met a criminal on his way to death, to pardon him on the spot. This privilege belonged to the vestal virgins in old Rome, but they had to make oath that it was only accident that caused them to meet the criminal.

Important business kept Pius IV much engaged. Many Germans in various dioceses asked permission to communicate under both kinds; and at first the Holy Father thought that religion would thereby be extended. Various princes, including the Emperor Ferdinand, Albert of Bavaria, and Charles, Archduke of Austria, joined their solicitation to this wish of their subjects. The matter had been discussed in the Council of Trent: that assemblage of wisdom, prudence, circumspection, knowledge, and courage, and the pope, had deigned to grant the permission. But in the briefs on that subject which he addressed to the electors and to the archbishops, he declared that he granted them the faculty to

administer the communion under both kinds, if they deemed fit, to such as should devoutly beg that favor, and who should confess that each kind contained the true body of Jesus Christ, and that the Church had not erred in giving only the one kind, any more than she erred in giving both.

In the course of time it became evident that this concession only emboldened the mischievous temper of the Lutherans and did serious mischief to the faith, as Cardinal Commendone, on the 6th of June, 1565, wrote to Cardinal Borromeo. In consequence, Pius V and Gregory XIII entirely revoked the permission, and restored the custom, practised during so many ages, of giving communion to the laity only under one kind.

In 1565, on the 4th of May, the Holy Father published a constitution by which, in concert with Giannotto Castiglioni, his relation and grand master of the order, he restored and amplified the order of the Knights of Saint Lazarus, in Italy, founded, according to Saint Gregory Nazianzus, and confirmed by Pope Saint Damasus, to aid the pilgrims at Jerusalem, and especially those attacked by leprosy.

These same knights, subsequently united to those of the order of Saint Maurice, founded by the Duke of Savoy, had been confirmed in 1255 by Alexander IV, placed under the rule of Saint Augustine, and favored with many privileges by several popes.

By another constitution, subsequently confirmed by Gregory XIII, Pius IV forbade the palaces of the cardinals and the ambassadors any longer to serve as asylums for delinquents and malefactors.

Pius IV having been seriously ill during the celebration of the council, it was reported about that that assembly would elect his successor. On that subject the pontiff decreed that a pontifical election should be made only at Rome, and that

the faculty of election belonged only to the cardinals, the sole depositaries of that right. Further, by a bull of the 18th of January, 1565, renewing a law of Boniface II, he ordered that no pontiff should ever choose either a successor or coadjutor, even though the cardinals should agree among themselves upon that subject. By the same constitution Pius renewed, decreed, and amplified the laws laid down upon papal election by his predecessors Alexander III, Gregory X, Clement V, Clement VI, and Julius II.

To reward those who had deserved well from the Church in the Council of Trent, Pius IV made a considerable promotion of cardinals. Among others who received the hat were: (1) Mark Antony Colonna, disciple in theological studies of Brother Felice Peretti, afterwards Sixtus V. (2) Angelo Nicolini, a noble Florentine. (3) Louis Pisani, a noble Venetian. (4) Prosper Publicola Santacroce, a noble Roman. The last-mentioned at a very early age lost his nearest relations, and at the time of the sack of Rome, in 1527, everything belonging to him had either been pillaged or destroyed. He then so diligently applied himself to study that he became one of the most distinguished men at the Roman court. He was nuncio to Henry II of France, and then was sent to Portugal in the same capacity, and again returned as nuncio to France, where he received the purple. (5) Ugo Buoncompagni, who was afterwards Gregory XIII. (6) Simon Pascal de' Negri, a noble Genoese and an excellent physician, who subsequently filled the most important offices. (7) Charles Visconti, who had settled so many difficult affairs in the holy synod. (8) Francis Abondio Castiglioni, of the family of Celestine IV, who was pope in 1241. (9) Anthony de Créquy, of the illustrious French family of that name. (10) John Francis Commendone, a Venetian, whose father was a physician.

This promotion, which gave twenty-two new cardinals to the Church, was a worthy reward of many toils and much resolution and patience, and all Europe was a sharer in the benefit.

Meanwhile, Soliman II, having unconsciously become the partisan of Luther, because the latter had disturbed Christendom, ordered Mustapha, one of his bravest generals, to lay siege to the island of Malta, then held by the Knights of Rhodes.

Forty thousand Turks invested the forts, but Pius IV, who was so zealous for the weal of religion, powerfully reinforcing the fleet of Philip II, Mustapha was obliged to raise the siege after losing thirty thousand men.

The munificence of Pius IV was not limited to aiding all Christendom against the Mussulmans; his generosity also embraced Rome and the Papal States.

He erected at Diocletian's baths the Carthusian convent, one of the finest buildings in Rome. From the palace of Monte Cavallo he laid out a fine street, ending in the beautiful gate in the city wall, called after him the Porta Pia, and standing on the site of the ancient Porta Nomentana. The architect of this is Michelangelo. Pius opened still another gate, near the ancient gate Cassia, and it was named Porta Angelica, in commemoration of the name of Angelo, which the pope bore before his elevation. Not far from the Castle of Sant' Angelo he built another gate, called Di Castello, communicating with the Angelica gate. Another of his favors in this way was the rebuilding of the Flaminian gate, called Del Popolo, on the road entering Rome from Florence and the March of Ancona. The square by that gate was greatly embellished by Pius VII and Leo XII.

Pius restored the Villa Julia, and also commenced the palace of the Conservation at the Capitol. Michelangelo still

gave his advice. Indeed, it would take long to mention all the public works due to this pontiff.

He founded a printing-office in the Vatican, and gave the superintendence of it to the celebrated Paul Manutius, whom he sent for to Rome on that especial account. He continued the mighty centrepiece of the buildings of the Vatican, commenced by Julius II. He opened new roads and restored the old; and he perfected the researches commenced by Julius for retracing every feeder of the Virgin Water.

Finally, he strengthened the fortifications of Ostia, Civita Vecchia, and Ancona.

This led, unfortunately, to an increase of taxation. Turbulent men, ever ready to profit by popular discontent, and having nothing to lose in case of failure, formed a conspiracy against the pope. Among the confederates were Thaddeus Manfredi, the Chevalier Pellizoni, Count Antonio Canasini, and Prosper Pittori. They intended to assassinate the pope. Benedict Accolti was to present a petition to the pope, and when His Holiness held out his hand to take it, the vile hireling was to stab his master. His courage failed him as often as he had an opportunity to commit the sacrilegious crime, which therefore was deferred; the conspirators began to disagree, and one of them revealed the plot. All were arrested on the same night, tried, and condemned to death.

Pius had scarcely escaped from this barbarous treason when he was attacked by a catarrhal fever, and, after only a week's illness, died on the 10th of December, 1565, attended by Saint Philip Neri, who the year before had founded his congregation of Oratorians, and by Saint Charles Borromeo, who, arriving in Rome on the first intelligence of his uncle's illness, warned him that he was in danger of death, and administered the sacraments of the Church.

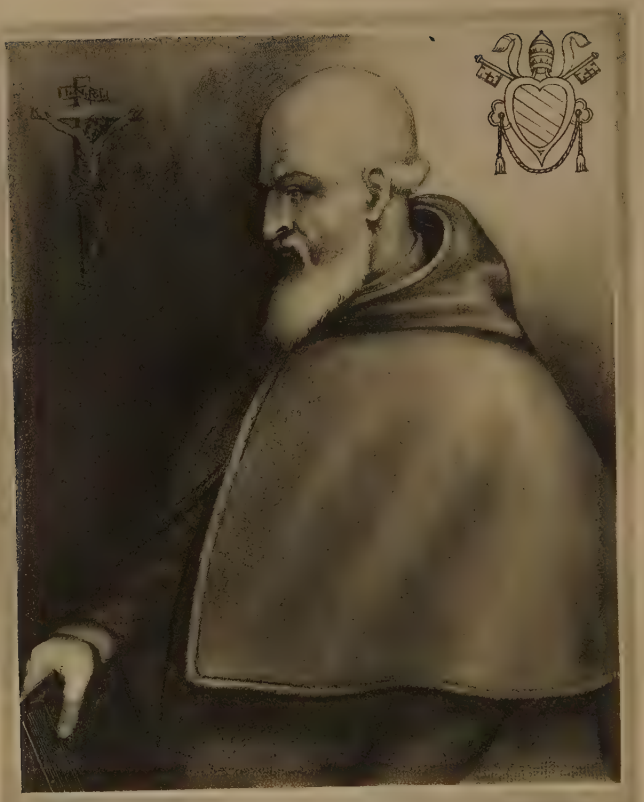
Pius IV was sixty years, eight months, and nine days old;

his pontificate had lasted five years, eleven months, and fifteen days. During his reign he created forty-six cardinals. His body was interred at the Vatican. On the 4th of January, 1583, his remains were removed without pomp to the Carthusian Church of the Madonna degli Angeli, which he himself had founded and consecrated.

Pius IV was of ordinary stature, but strong. His face was large; his eyes were blue and did not correspond; nose large, and the beard scanty. He seemed more disposed towards cheerfulness than towards the stern gravity his station required. His memory was so retentive that he could on the instant recite aloud long passages from jurisconsults, historians, and poets. When he chose, he could speak brilliantly; and he excited wonder by his experience in business and by his patience in labor.

By a constitution he approved the Index of the books which the council had prohibited, and he knew why those books had been forbidden. The labor which he undertook, in order by his own eyes to ascertain that the Index was needed, lasted three months. Already, in 1548, an index of prohibited books had been published, but it was neither authentic nor furnished with the special authority of the pope, though it was composed by Monsignor della Casa, the pope's nuncio at Venice.

The first person who attacked the Index was the Abbé de Saint Cyran, in France; then came Quesnel and others. Rome having prohibited their books, these writers replied by insults. To their confusion, and to the justification of the Holy See, it must be mentioned that Benedict XIV, in his constitution of 1753, established that the Sacred Congregation of the Index should condemn the book of no Catholic by name without hearing it defended by the author, or a consulter, acting ex-officio as defender.



PIVS·V·PAPA·ALEXANDRINVS·

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Pius IV bestowed much care upon the reform of the clergy, both secular and regular, in revoking all concessions, privileges, and favors contrary to the regulations of the Council of Trent. By vigilant and reiterated constitutions he compelled the bishops to reside at their sees; and he condemned the benefices in confidenza—that is to say, with simony. He reformed various tribunals in Rome into which abuses had crept. He instituted the formula, or profession of faith, which was to be pronounced by any one promoted to a chair in the public schools, and another similar profession of faith imposed upon all enjoying ecclesiastical benefices.

At the request of his nephew, Saint Charles Borromeo, Pius IV instituted a monastery for women who, having lived irregularly, desired to reform and to lead an irreproachable life. This monastery, situated near the Minerva, was called Casa Pia.

The Holy See was vacant twenty-eight days.

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SAINT PIUS V—A.D. 1566

SAINT PIUS V, Michele Ghislieri, was born at Bosco, near Tortona, the son of Paolo Ghislieri and Domenica Angeria. The family, though reduced, was a distinguished one at Bologna. De Thou represents Michele as born in a low condition; but that writer was misinformed. According to Jacobilli, who wrote the life of the saint, he is supposed to descend from Ghislieri of Constantinople, whose children settled in Rome, Perugia, and many other Italian cities. Pompey Scipio Dolfi, author of the chronology of the

noble houses of Florence, affirms that that family, in 1445, under the reign of Eugene IV, was driven from Bologna, where it had enjoyed the right of nobility; and that a Thomas Ghislieri found refuge at Vicenza, Francis Ghislieri at Ferrara, and Lippo Ghislieri at Bosco. A son of Lippo was grandfather of the future pontiff. Michele was born on the 17th of January, 1504, and received from his parents a pious education, as they destined him for the service of the Church. At the age of fourteen he took the habit of Saint Dominic in the convent of Vigevano, and in 1519 made his profession, a practice permitted at that time. His superiors sent him to the college of Bologna, where he was to study theology, and then to Genoa to be ordained. Obliged to teach a course of philosophy, he went to a convent of Pavia to teach theology, and he remained a professor there for sixteen years, to the great satisfaction of his superiors.

In 1543 he was sent to a chapter of his province held at Parma, and he there maintained what are called public conclusions. Successively elected superior of several residences, he governed his brethren with firmness and mildness.

The Congregation of the Supreme Inquisition, at Rome, sent him to Coira, a district of the Grisons, where his mission was to settle several disputes.

In 1551 Julius II named him commissary-general of the congregation, on the recommendation of Cardinal Caraffa. The latter, having become pope under the name of Paul IV, made Michele, in spite of his unwillingness, Bishop of Sutri and Nepi, in 1556. At length, on the 15th of March, 1557, that pontiff created him cardinal, of the title of Saint Mary of La Minerva. At the same time Michele was established as perpetual supreme inquisitor, an office reserved to the pope exclusively, and which, therefore, seemed to promise the pontificate. Subsequently Cardinal Michele left the

bishopric of Sutri for that of Mondovi, in Piedmont, and thus got nearer to his family.

After the funeral of Pius IV, fifty sacred electors entered into conclave to elect a successor to the late pontiff. Spinello Benci, in the History of Monte Pulciano, says that Cardinal Angelo Nicolini should have been that successor. He had been seriously spoken of, but he was so close a friend of Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, that this very circumstance militated against his election. Then Cardinal Ricci was thought of. Afterwards it seemed that the choice would fall upon Cardinal Moroni, supported by Cardinal Borromeo. Enemies exerted themselves, Moroni was excluded; and Borromeo, thus repulsed, supported Cardinals Sirlet and Buoncompagni. The difficulties increased. At length Cardinals Altemps and Farnese united in favor of Cardinal Alessandrino, as Michele Ghislieri was called because born at Bosco, in the district of Alexandria della Paglia; and, moreover, Michele's provincial had so named him when a simple friar.

Some of the electors represented to Borromeo that Alessandrino was a nephew of Paul IV; that a reaction was to be feared against the chastisement inflicted by that pope upon the Caraffas; and that perhaps Ghislieri would harass the family of Pius IV.

But the great Borromeo was not to be influenced by worldly considerations in an affair of such importance.

At length Cardinal Michele was elected pontiff, on the 7th of January, 1566.

To show himself grateful to Charles Borromeo, and to do honor to the memory of the uncle of that saint, instead of taking the name of Paul, which naturally presented itself, he took that of Pius V. The name of Michael, perhaps, would have been preferred, but Saint Charles observed

that it was a new name in the pontificate. However, all was not yet at an end. Ghislieri seemed plunged into a stupefaction which kept him motionless. His lips had pronounced the consent; but his heart, his mind, his modesty, and his natural humility had not yet pronounced. He was asked the cause of his silence, and he replied: "In our Dominican convent, living solely to God, and occupied with our salvation, we firmly hoped to be saved; elected bishop and cardinal, we began to fear; now that we are elected pontiff, we despair of our salvation."

On the 17th of January, the day on which he completed the sixty-second year of his life, the usual ceremonies proceeded. At the coronation he would not allow money to be thrown to the people, inasmuch as the practice had resulted in fatal catastrophes at the coronation of Pius IV, when women and children perished; but he ordered the money to be distributed to the poor of the various churches in their own homes. Money was also given to noble families known to be indigent.

Pius V, being informed that the Romans seemed but ill pleased with his election, because they feared he might be too severe, replied: "We trust in God, and we hope so to reign that our death will be still less pleasing to the people than our accession."

On the 27th of January he went in a litter to take possession of Saint John Lateran. As he passed before the church of the Gesù, he saw Saint Francis Borgia, general of the order, who, with his religious, stood at the church door, waiting to receive the papal benediction. He ordered the procession to halt, called Saint Francis Borgia to his side, and conversed with him for more than a quarter of an hour, addressing to his order the most flattering congratulations, and praising the general himself for having abandoned the

grandeurs of the world to embrace a life of sacrifice and pain, a life which most frequently leads only to martyrdom.

To those first proofs of piety the pontiff added acts of munificence, and the Romans began to hope that his reign would be a glorious one.

Eighty thousand crowns were distributed to thirty poor cardinals, two hundred to each of the auditors of the Rota, fifty thousand to the Duke Altemps for the dowry of his wife, sister of Cardinal Borromeo, as promised before his death by Pius IV.

To show his gratitude to his benefactor Paul IV, Pius V caused a tomb to be erected to him in the Church of the Minerva. After consulting the Sacred College, he ordered the restitution to the princes of the Caraffa family of the property and honors of which they had been deprived by Pius IV; and then he gave the purple to Anthony Caraffa, son of Rinaldo Caraffa, and included in the disgrace of his family.

On the 6th of June, 1566, the pope wrote a letter with his own hand to Mary, Queen of Scots, consoling her under the tribulations inflicted upon her by Queen Elizabeth of England; and he at the same time sent to the august captive a sum of twenty thousand gold crowns, with the promise to send her more when a favorable opportunity should present itself.

The Roman people having been tormented, in the month of August, by the rigors of a contagion which carried off many victims, the pope visited the sick in person, giving them medicines and pecuniary aid.

A circumstance occurred which led Pius to show his horror of nepotism. His nephew, Paul Ghislieri, having been taken prisoner by Turkish pirates, the pope ransomed him, had him brought into Rome still clad as a slave, and gave him an office with a salary of one hundred crowns, and a horse to enable him to go home. Paul was ordered to tell his

other relations that the pope would not give them the property of the Church. Subsequently, however, the pope thought differently. He sent for Paul to Rome, and said to him: "As you are worthy of our esteem, and as the Holy See can employ you, we name you governor of Borgo and captain of our guard." Unhappily, Paul Ghislieri, in that high office, committed a fault, and endeavored to escape its consequences by means of a falsehood. The pope then deprived him of his post, sent for him, and, pointing to a lighted taper, said: "Before that burns out you must leave Rome and the Papal States." Meantime Paul had left in poverty five young children; the pope provided for their wants, and tacitly permitted Bonelli de Bosco, his sister's husband, to receive from a foreign prince favors which raised him to a very distinguished position. On the whole, Pius loved his relations and was very willing to make them prosperous; but he also desired them to be virtuous, free from luxury and show, and, in general, to obtain at Rome only such favors as they deserved.

Pius V also labored to make wise regulations in discipline. The better to succeed, he exhorted the bishops of all Christendom to cause the decrees of the Council of Trent to be observed, and to reform their churches. He first set the example by reforming his court. He provided the tribunals with judges known for their probity, declaring publicly that employments would be bestowed only on merit and virtue, and not on influence and intrigue. Every bishop possessing benefices with the cure of souls was to obey the law of residence, in conformity to the laws of the council. Prelates were either to proceed to their residence within a month or to forfeit their benefices; and many bishops lost theirs by disobedience.

In compliance with the decrees of the Council of Trent,

Pius caused the demolition of the tombs erected in several churches, ordering that the bodies should be buried in the ground or removed to the cemeteries. That infection should not corrupt the air, the ancient Romans, by the law of the twelve tables, forbade interment of bodies in cities, excepting of those personages who had triumphed. This law, grown obsolete, was revived by Theodoric, King of Italy, and afterwards annulled by the Emperor Leo, surnamed the Philosopher.

The Germans, by permission of Pius IV, communicated under both kinds. Pius V revoked this permission, which Protestants had regarded as a condescension to the novelties which they sought to establish.

Boniface VIII, by a constitution which the Council of Trent confirmed in its fifth session, had ordered nuns to be cloistered and to make the solemn profession of the three vows. But the cloister was not strictly observed in the time of Pius V, and under various pretexts the rule was evaded. The Holy Father forbade nuns, under penalty of major excommunication, to leave their cloister excepting in case of fire, leprosy, or pestilence; and when these motives ceased to exist, the nuns were to return to their convents. The bull Regularium personarum also forbade any nun to enter a monastery of monks, and any monk to enter a convent of nuns. Bishops alone, according to custom, could grant permission.

Latin priests had been occasionally authorized to celebrate the divine offices according to the Greek rite, and Greeks to celebrate them in Latin. Pius V revoked all permissions of the kind.

The Hollanders having revolted against the Church and against Philip II, their lawful sovereign, the Holy Father, in order to promote among the Flemings due sentiments of fidelity to the Church and the sovereign, was the first pontiff

to introduce the use of blessed medals and to grant indulgences to those wearing them. At the same time the pope encouraged the Duke of Alva, who had gained victories over the Gueux (the name adopted by the Calvinists in Flanders), and sent him the stocco (sword) and the berrettone (ornamented hat), which had been blessed with various ceremonies on Christmas night.

The origin of the custom of sending the sword and hat, which have often since been given to generals meriting the approval of the Holy See, is not precisely known. Some authors think that it is one of the most ancient customs of the Church; others believe it to be more modern.

The monts-de-piété were instituted by Barnaby de Terni, a Franciscan, in order to stop the exactions of Jewish pawnbrokers and relieve the poor from their oppression. The first mont-de-piété owed its origin to Paul III. In 1559 Pius, by his bull Inter multiplices, completed his measures of precaution against usurers, by granting signal encouragement to the development of those charitable institutions.

Considering, too, that in many classes the want of instruction was the principal source of the disorders that afflicted the Church, he instituted the Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine, the members of which are bound to explain the Catechism to children every Sunday and holy day in certain appointed churches. Subsequently, perceiving the great benefit which the people received from these instructions, he granted indulgences to the teachers and pupils. A bull, the one hundred and thirty-seventh, finally exhorted all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and prelates to establish the Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine in all the churches of their dioceses and dependencies.

The island of Malta had remained in the most deplorable misery ever since its siege by Soliman. The knights, learn-

ing that he was making new preparations, thought of abandoning the island, the only bulwark of Italy against the infidels, and seeking shelter in Sicily. To dissuade the grand master, Pius, at his own expense, sent three thousand good soldiers. A nuncio was at the same time to deliver fifteen thousand gold crowns and to promise thirty-five thousand more within seven months. The pope also sent, on the 24th of March, 1566, a brief in which he affirmed that he would not hesitate to shed his own blood in defence of the honor of God and the safety of the inhabitants of Malta. At the same time he solicited aid from France; and at Rome he compelled unfaithful agents to repay considerable sums to the State. It was by this aid that the knights began to build the new city, called Valetta, after the name of the grand master.

In bestowing so much attention upon the island that was again to repel the Turks, Pius V was not neglectful of the dangers of the Ecclesiastical States. On that account the Holy Father thought it his duty to go in person to Ancona. The infidels might attack by the Adriatic Sea as well as by the Mediterranean. In a war so important, every probability must be attended to. The Duke of Bracciano was named general of the armies of the Pontifical States, and received the standard of the Holy Church.

Shortly afterwards the pope returned to Rome, and was not long in discovering a part of Soliman's plans. That emperor had suddenly, by treachery, seized the isle of Scio, while the Christians were celebrating Easter. Almost all were massacred. Pius V convoked a consistory in which he informed the cardinals of the disaster. His allocution was interrupted by sobs. Letters were despatched to all the faithful courts in Christendom, and money sent to ransom the children of the celebrated Giustiniani family. Charles IX, who had an ambassador at Constantinople, read the

pope's letters with deep emotion; and the young Giustiniani, restored to liberty on the demand of Charles, went to Rome to beg that the pope would thank the king.

The great theatre of affairs is now transferred to Germany. De Falloux says:

"From one end of Germany to the other confusion reigned in ideas, in morals, in institutions, and in tendencies.

"In Switzerland the spirit of revolt changed its name without changing in character. Zwinglius and Calvin divided men's minds.

"Very soon we shall have to pause before Calvinism in France.

"As to Zwinglius, at first a soldier, then a priest, and afterwards canon of Constance, he sold his benefice in order to marry, and then founded a new schism in his country. Zurich, Berne, Bâle, and Schaffhausen followed him. The Swiss cantons were divided and flew to arms. 'Fire must be quenched by blood!' exclaimed Zwinglius, resuming his old trade, and he perished in battle. Judicial executions succeeded to popular outbreaks. Gentilis having begun to dogmatize in his turn, the Reformed magistrate of Berne arrested and beheaded him on the public square.

"At Geneva, Calvin personally attended the execution of Michael Servetus.

"Frederick III, Count Palatine of the Rhine, embraced Calvinism and ardently supported it.

"William, Duke of Brunswick, son of Duke Ernest, had entered the League of Schmalkalden and maintained all its errors.

"Carlostadt, the friend of Luther, kindled the fire in Saxony.

"Prussia was divided between Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Duke Albert, both of the same house and both

Protestants. Prussia had remained longer than the other German countries in a barbarous state, and owed the light of civilization to the Holy See. The Teutonic Knights, driven from Syria by the Saracens, had asked an asylum from the Holy See, which His Holiness gave them at Kulm and at Königsberg.

"This Christian soldiery, designedly placed among savage tribes, soon subjugated them as much by superiority of morals as by that of arms. The knights very soon ruled as sovereigns over almost all Prussia. The title of grand master was esteemed an honor to the most illustrious families of Germany and among the princes of the blood royal.

"As long as the Teutonic Knights found barbarians to combat and provinces to subject, they showed themselves as noble as their mission. But when they had nothing to do but to enjoy the possession of a secondary power and immense wealth, all the disorders of idleness attacked them, corrupted their hearts, and tarnished their faith. The Lutheran uprising presented the opportunity for throwing off the yoke, easy and distant as it was, of the sovereign pontiffs. The opportunity was seized. Albert of Brandenburg, then grand master of the order, stipulating, at the expense of the order, for the wages of his treason, concluded, on the 8th of April, 1526, a treaty with his uncle, the King of Poland, which recognized him as hereditary grand duke of all the domains of the Teutonic order, except the cities abandoned to the greed of the Poles, to which they lent the strong hand for the execution of its clauses. He threw off the habit of the order, deprived the knights, who had raised him to the chief command, of all their privileges, and drove the Catholics from his new States. Albert, dying at a very advanced age, was succeeded by his son Albert Frederick. The order had found shelter in Franconia, and

George Hund, of Wenckeim, who was grand master at the accession of Pius V, vainly urged his incessant protests upon the attention of the German diets.

"In the North, Sweden and Denmark had seen the Catholic Church perish under atrocious persecutions. Gustavus Vasa, after delivering his country from the tyranny of Christian II, held at Örebro, in 1529, a national council in which he abolished Catholicism and adopted the Augsburg Confession. John III, his son and successor, married a daughter of Sigismund, King of Poland, and took as his favorite minister a Frenchman named La Gardie. Those two influences won him back towards the old faith, and he showed an inclination towards its re-establishment; but the death of his queen, and the shipwreck of La Gardie on his return from Rome, rendered the first efforts fruitless and deprived the Catholics of their last support in the kingdom.

"Frederick II, King of Denmark and Duke of Holstein, grandson of the ferocious Christian, found Lutheranism established in his States and maintained it there.

"Ivan IV had reigned in Russia from the year 1534. He was the first sovereign of that vast empire who exchanged the title of Duke, Prince, or Grand Duke of Muscovy for the title of Tzar or Czar, an obvious corruption of the Roman and imperial title Cæsar. He had subjected the kingdom of Astrakhan, brought the Tartars of the Kasan under the yoke, and seized upon the Polish frontier. Manifesting some desire for reunion with the Holy See, he invited and received at Moscow the celebrated Father Possevin; but the instinct of the despot could not bow beneath the laws of the Church, and he died without realizing any of the hopes that he had inspired. He was married seven times, and that single fact illustrates the state of a country withdrawn from the authority of the sovereign pontiff.

"Such, in summary, was the picture of the north of Europe in 1566."

The nuncios of Pius V kept him informed of all that they observed, and he perceived that aid could not too early be given to the emperor, surrounded as he was by dangers alike from the Turks and from the Lutherans. In consequence, the zealous pope published a jubilee; instituted the devotion of the Quarant' Ore, or forty hours; urged the faithful to fulfil their duties, and granted a plenary indulgence to all who, after confession and communicating, addressed fervent prayers to God in favor of the emperor.

During the greatest heats of the season, the pope said Mass at Saint Mark's on the very day of the commencement of the forty hours, and gave such public marks of devotion as had not been witnessed for three hundred years, by going on foot first to Saint John Lateran, the day following to Saint Mary Major, and the third day to the Church of Aracœli, the principal church of the Observantine Franciscans. Soon after, tidings came that Soliman, besieging Sighet, a place on the confines of Croatia and Hungary, had fought a battle in which he lost thirty thousand men, and then died suddenly before the place was taken.

To the deep grief of Saint Pius, France was disturbed by the Huguenots. The origin of the word Huguenot is doubtful. Some derive it from a gate at Tours called after King Ugon, as the Calvinists held their meetings near it. Others say that King Ugon was, like bugaboo, an expression to terrify children, being supposed to prowl around the walls at night, and the Huguenots got the name from their nocturnal meetings. His Holiness resolved to send to Paris, as apostolic nuncio, Michael Turriani, Bishop of Ceneda and afterwards cardinal. He was to exhort the sovereign and Queen Catharine to be firm in the Catholic religion, whose author-

ity had been weakened in so many countries, and to keep in his duty Cardinal Odet de Chatillon, who had been excommunicated in full consistory by Pius IV.

To secure Avignon and the Venaissin State against persecution by the heretics, he sent troops, money, and munitions. Cardinal d'Armagnac, governor of the county, was exhorted to redoubled vigilance and to neglect no means of preparing to defend it against all enemies. At the same time the Count de Santa Fiora was sent with troops to maintain the authority of the Holy See.

The pontifical treasury had already given assistance to Malta, to the emperor, to the county of Avignon, and to Hungary, and Pius now hastened to collect further sums to be distributed in proper portions to each of those countries.

Subsequently the King of France sent to the pope twelve standards captured from his enemies, whom he had defeated at Jarnac and Moncontour.

Pius V sought every opportunity of sustaining the power and dignity of Rome. On that subject he published his thirty-fifth constitution, Admonet Nos, which was signed by thirty-nine cardinals assembled in congress, and subsequently confirmed by Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Gregory XIV, Clement VIII, and Paul V. In that bull it is forbidden to give in fief any city whatever in the Ecclesiastical States, either for life or to the third generation, or to consent to any clause importing alienation. It was ordered that every cardinal, on receiving the hat, or previous to going into conclave to elect a pope, should swear never to allow the derogation of that bull, and to refuse all consent to be absolved from his oath upon the subject. The pope ventured to enjoin it upon future pontiffs to swear to the maintenance and confirmation of that bull as soon as they should be raised to the pontifi-

cate; they were to declare that they would take all necessary pains to have it executed in the most complete manner.

In fact, Gregory XIII not only swore publicly to maintain that bull, but he thought fit, in 1581, to ratify it. And such is the power of a determination which is just, effective, and conservative of order, that all the cardinals spontaneously took the same oath, after preparing first by the most solemn ceremonies.

On the other hand, to establish uniformity in his States, Pius confirmed all the constitutions of his predecessors relating to proceedings against the banditti and assassins, and to the establishment of a strict police. The abettors of the assassins were also held up to public detestation.

The pope at the same time concluded extraordinary treaties with the governments of Naples and Tuscany, to the effect that brigands who should seek shelter in either of those countries should be delivered to the pontifical authorities, Rome promising the extradition, without formal demand, of all who committed crimes in either of those countries.

In Germany, Catholicism suffered no new losses. Poland remained faithful. Notwithstanding the weakness of Maximilian, the provinces subject to Austria recognized the voice of the Holy Father. In Bavaria, Albert de Wittel had reigned in peace from the year 1558; but the character of Maximilian, more undecided than ever, caused deep anxiety. His father, Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, had had violent disputes with Paul IV, and, but from fear of the devoted character of the people, there was little doubt that very serious embarrassments would have resulted. An abuse had crept in which still continued to disturb the city. Some authors, in their greed, sold their pens to destroy, by pasquinades or avvisi segretti, the honor and good reputation of many quiet

people, whom they compelled to purchase silence. Such culprits had been either punished very slightly by the authorities, or punished only by the silent contempt of the public. Pius V determined that such an abuse should, if possible, be put down; and upon that subject he published a bull by which he renewed the old canonical and civil laws against offenders of that stamp. He ordered the prosecution of all who wrote or hawked such libels, as well as of all who sent them out of Rome and thus sought to disturb public order and the domestic peace of Roman citizens.

It was necessary to grant a powerful patronage to agriculture. New regulations were made, and disputes were to be promptly settled, even when arising between persons relying upon their privileges. The woollen and silk manufactures were protected as at Florence, and stuffs of that kind were in demand in Italy, or at least became cheaper wear for the people, because freed from all duties. The Holy Father approved the act called the "Statute of the Roman People." It was a code drawn up by learned jurisconsults, Anthony Vellio and Mark Antony Borghese, consistorial advocates.

They were associated with other skilful men, doctors of law, and had published a treatise on marriage portions and the presents made to young Roman women on their betrothal. No portion was to exceed four thousand five hundred Roman crowns, somewhat less than five thousand dollars, and there was also to be a tariff for the presents between married people and relations. Unfortunately, or rather fortunately, that law did not long remain in force. Dispensations allowed a greater liberality, and the dealers in plate, jewelry, silks, and pictures, whom it was also necessary to encourage, united with the rich nobility to prevent the law from reaching more considerable gifts.

From the goodness of heart of some benevolent men who

took pity upon Christian slaves, whom they ransomed, arose an unforeseen abuse. The ransomed remained in the houses of those good friends of the poor, where they continued to be assisted. But by degrees that situation became a second slavery, and it might sometimes be said that the first slavery among the Turks had not been as painful as that which had to be endured in the houses of the liberators. The upper servants, those subaltern tyrants who are found in every palace, made the ransomed hate their new condition. A beneficent constitution ordered all just complaints to be considered, and that, even at the expense of the treasury, assistance should be given to those who, after being ill-treated by the Turks, had not recovered with their liberty a pleasanter and more Christian life.

Pius V took new measures concerning the Jews. They were scattered among many towns in the Ecclesiastical States. At Rome and Ancona they were assembled in certain special quarters. The state of these unfortunate people has since been ameliorated.

In 1567 the pope declared the great Saint Thomas Aquinas the fifth doctor of the Church, thus assimilating him to Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, and Saint Gregory.

One of the most necessary measures, and of the most important as to the future, that we owe to Saint Pius V is his condemnation of the propositions of Michael Baius, a famous doctor of the University of Louvain. These doctrines were as the first seeds of the tares which in the following century infected the fields still left to the Church. Baius had scattered through his writings upon free will, human works and merits, various sentences which increased the scandal of the schools and the disturbance of conscience. These sentences had been condemned by the Sorbonne in eighteen articles.

The partisans of Baius replied by an apology filled with

sarcasms. The Holy Father, seeing that discord stifled in the hearts of the innovators every feeling of obedience and threatened fatal danger to the Church, prepared to deal with that question himself; and by the constitution Ex omnibus afflictionibus, without naming Baius, from indulgence for him, he condemned seventy-nine propositions in his works, but without specifying the censure that might befit each. In this the Holy Father followed the example of the Council of Constance against Wyckliff, and that of Pope Leo X against Luther.

In a feeling full of moderation, and, as says Novaes, of suavity, the pope ordered the bull to be communicated privately by the Archbishop of Mechlin to the University of Louvain.

But the affairs of France daily tormented the heart of the Holy Father. The Calvinists were everywhere in arms. Pius V addressed solicitations to all the courts to take into their consideration the evils of France. That great country, which when its sons were in peace with each other was dictated to by no one, now torn by civil war, disdained no assistance. Royalist and insurgent alike solicited aid in men and money, and Pius V was not one of the latest to recommend the cause of the king, which was also that of religion.

The pope wrote the following letter to Jerome Priuli, doge of Venice:

"As soon as we, to our great pain, became aware of the danger of our most dear son, Charles IX, King of France, and the civil war which so cruelly rends his States, we resolved to assist him to the utmost of our power, and even beyond our power, against his subjects guilty of treason to both divine and human majesty; and because the ruin of France would infallibly produce that of the neighboring

States, it being indubitable that the fire would soon spread all over Italy, we believed it to be our pastoral duty to exhort your Highness to aid the Most Christian King with all your efforts at this critical moment to lay the tempest which equally threatens you. In truth, we are not unaware how much your Highness is embarrassed with your own affairs, but the danger which I point out to you is so imminent that all those who labor for the common tranquillity should without delay make common efforts against the common enemy. It will be as agreeable to God, as glorious and noble for your republic, ever anxious to acquire true glory, to have come under such serious circumstances to the aid of so powerful a king, and, at the same time, to the aid of the Catholic religion.

"Given at Rome, near Saint Peter's, the 18th of October, in the year 1567, and of our pontificate the second.

"Pius, PP. V."

De Falloux attentively examines and considers the circumstances under which Pius V reigned, and which his successors could not escape:

"Thus the sixteenth century, as is superabundantly proven, was from end to end agitated by three very distinct policies: the Protestant policy, which convulsively exerted itself in intellectual and social disorder; the state policy of sovereigns, which reasoned, fought, or yielded as circumstances seemed to require; and the resistance of the Church, which appeals to eternal and divine principles.

"In France those three separate lines led to three different issues. The Huguenots, constantly adverse in feeling to the nation at large, deriving their whole strength from the discontent of the great and the passions they evoked, dwindled

away as the complaints were either satisfied or vanquished. They could attain only the consistency of a party rallying upon that limited foothold, and they fought by the aid of powerful chiefs and distant auxiliaries, and declined as the gates of the kingdom closed on them and their strongholds were dismantled, and at length succumbed when Richelieu's cannon demolished the walls of Rochelle and put their very existence at the mercy of an edict. The system of Catharine, who had used the torch and the poniard, tottered from weakness into violence, to perish by the dirk with the ill-fated Henry III. The Christian policy alone survived all those strange vicissitudes, and triumphed when Henry of Navarre, who was then called Henry IV, begged for the holy unction beneath the hallowed vaults of the cathedral of Chartres, and, freely converted, transformed his rebel friends into faithful subjects."

Disputes, perhaps even quarrels, had arisen in various parts of the State, concerning the rights claimed by mendicant orders, but not recognized by the treasury. Something was still wanting to the safety, the peace, and the decorum of the religious, and especially of the mendicant orders. The attempt was made to subject them to exactions and to billet soldiers upon them. The soldiers, being ill received, ill-treated the religious, and the latter vainly complained to prejudiced governors.

Pius investigated the matter and verified all these insults and blasphemies; and although he needed soldiers, as he was already levying for his defence, he endeavored to restore order, and he succeeded. The bull Deum ad uberes declared the mendicant orders free from the poll-tax law, and their convents were not to have soldiers billeted upon them.

Then it was inquired: "Who are the mendicant orders?" A bull of the 1st of October, 1567, declared that, as others

had ordered, that term should belong to the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the hermits of Saint Augustine, the Carmelites, and the Servites, or Servants of Mary. At the same time it directed that the minims of Saint Francis de Paula, the Jesuats (some few existed still, but were absolutely isolated), and the Jesuits should be regarded as such also. The privileges recognized by the Council of Trent were also augmented; and, finally, it was arranged that the Dominicans should have pre-eminence over all the other mendicant orders, alike in the pontifical chapel and in the processions and other public ceremonies.

The State of Corsica had for a long time attracted the attention of the popes.

"Corsica," says De Falloux, "which about the middle of the fourteenth century had passed from the domination of Pisa to that of Genoa, was, in the year 1564, torn by cruel factions. The quarrel of a private individual led in Corsica to a general rising against the Genoese."

Sampietri, a Corsican, who had bled in the service of France, took part in these fatal divisions. Denounced and banished, he had to fly. His wife imagined that she could dispose the Genoese to clemency. The irritated husband would not pardon what he deemed his wife's crime of submission, and he strangled her with his sash. There was no law extant to punish the crime. In the face of such horrors, Pius V incessantly labored for a general reconciliation, and he obtained it.

"The Corsican insurrection," says De Falloux, "had revealed manners utterly savage; and the Church, which in the person of pacificator had visited those mountains, was to leave her footprints there. And, in her train, it was her mission to take Christian civilization and the instruction which at once corrects, enlightens, and purifies; for the Church is

never opposed to knowledge, when that knowledge flows untainted from its natural sources."

From the particular pains taken by the pontiff, and which indirectly recall to mind the political measure of which we have already spoken, arose feelings of love and esteem between Rome and Corsica. A multitude of Corsicans have, during several ages, studied law and medicine at Rome. It is only since the beginning of the nineteenth century that the annexation to France, and the marvels worked by a genius born in Corsica, the great Napoleon, have established the new nationality.

It must not be forgotten, however, that in Rome some of the best physicians and most learned jurisconsults have been natives of Bastia and Ajaccio. We shall not speak of the Corsican guard. No doubt it was somewhat turbulent and even ventured to insult the French ambassadors; but the feeling that caused this fault, a fault which the government of that day should have prevented, was a sentiment of fidelity, of courage, and of attachment to the flag which they had sworn to defend. Rome discharged the Corsicans, but not without pensioning them; and when calm was restored, the only troops who, with the Swiss, could pacify Rome returned to keep down the thieves and banditti who too often swarmed there.

We saw, at the commencement of this reign, that Pius V sent consolation and aid to the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots. She belonged to the great Catholic league that Pius V exerted himself to form. Elizabeth, on the contrary, adhering to the views of Henry VIII, which had for a few years been interrupted, placed her people at the head of Protestant Europe. The misfortunes of Mary so long occupied the Holy See, which gave so many proofs of solicitude and of grief, and made so much effort to soften the sufferings of

that princess, that it is necessary here to exhibit her as she was known at Rome, which followed day by day that life of tears, of weakness, no doubt, but nevertheless a Christian life in faith, destined to close in a long and cruel martyrdom.

Mary Stuart was born on the 5th of December, 1542, the daughter of James V, King of Scotland, and of Mary of Guise, dowager Duchess of Longueville. On the 13th of December James V died, and Mary Stuart, only eight days old, succeeded him, under the regency of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran. On the 1st of July, 1543, the regent concluded a treaty with Henry VIII, King of England, that king who was so fatal a husband. By virtue of that treaty, Mary Stuart was to be sent to England at ten years of age, and subsequently to be married to Edward, son of Henry VIII. On the 16th of December, 1543, Mary, still in her swaddling-clothes, was crowned Queen of Scotland.

The Parliament of Scotland having annulled the treaty made between the regent and Henry VIII, war commenced and lasted two years.

In 1548, at the moment when the English demanded from the Scotch the hand of their queen, then only six years old, for Edward VI, successor of Henry VIII, the Scotch peers offered Mary Stuart in marriage to the dauphin of France, son of Henry II. It was at the court of that king that the education of the young Queen of Scots was to be finished, and on the 13th of August she was betrothed to the dauphin amidst the most splendid festivities.

On the 6th of July, 1553, Edward VI died, and left the throne of England to his sister Mary, who restored the Catholic religion.

On the 4th of April, 1558, Mary Stuart gave her kingdom to the King of France and his successors. Such treaties necessarily implied quite irreconcilable dissensions. If we

call to mind the English in France, the English could easily fancy what the French would be in Scotland, at less than three hundred leagues from London.

Seventy days after that donation, Mary was married to the dauphin, and with her own lips, and with all youthful graces, saluted him as King of Scotland. In the same year Mary, Queen of England, died, and left the throne to her half-sister Elizabeth, who was crowned with all the ceremonies of the Catholic ritual. This occurred in the month of January, 1559. In March the English Parliament repealed the statutes passed under the preceding reign, and restored the so-called Reformed religion.

On the 10th of July, four months later, Henry II died, and the dauphin, under the name of Francis II, succeeded him as King of France and Scotland.

Few pages of history recount such rapidly succeeding deaths of sovereigns. On the 5th of December Francis II died. His brother Charles IX succeeded, at the age of ten years, and his mother, Catharine de' Medici, governed. Mary Stuart, a widow on the very day on which she completed her eighteenth year, left the court and passed the winter at Rheims with her uncle, Cardinal Charles de Lorraine.

In 1561 Mary asked permission to cross England on her way to Scotland, and Elizabeth, with much bitterness, refused it.

On the 15th of August Mary sailed from Calais, bidding adieu to that beautiful land of France. She was accompanied by three of her uncles and by many French and Scotch nobles, among whom were also Brantôme and Catelnau de Mauvissière. An epistolary correspondence, sufficiently polite, if we consider the irritation of their minds, took place between Elizabeth and Mary.

In May, 1562, it was proposed that the two queens should

meet at York. Mary eagerly accepted the proposal, but, six weeks before the appointed time, Elizabeth made several pretexts for declining the interview.

On the 14th of April, 1564, the Countess of Lenox, daughter of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII, solicited for her son, Henry Darnley, the hand of the Queen of Scotland.

Charles IX, to relieve Mary from embarrassment, renounced all claim to Scotland, naturally terminated by the death of Francis II.

On the 18th of April, 1565, Queen Mary decided to marry her cousin, Lord Henry Darnley. In the month of June, Murray, the half-brother of Mary, conspired to dethrone her. On the 29th of July, 1565, Mary, having received the approbation of her brother-in-law, the King of France, and of her former mother-in-law, the queen regent, celebrated her marriage with Darnley and gave him the title of king consort.

On the 7th of January, 1566, as we have seen, Pope Pius V ascended the throne of Saint Peter, and, from the first, understood how august a ward had been committed to his care. He kept anxious watch over her and over Scotland, and connected that queen, only twenty-four years of age, with the hopes of the Catholic faith, which had only seen better days in England to fall more terribly into Protestantism.

A faithful priest was accredited to Edinburgh; he sometimes saw the queen, and assured her that the pontiff would constantly watch over her, and by agents and counsel, by all the means which the interest and the policy of men suggest, would do everything to fortify the religious spirit of that princess.

Darnley, speedily forgetting his duty to the queen, sank into daily debauches and insulted her by the most unworthy and humiliating behavior. When the princess was in the seventh month of her pregnancy, some nobles, whose names

history should not deign to record, were introduced by the guilty Darnley into the chamber of the queen, where they assassinated an Italian musician, Rizzio, who was in attendance. The murderers soon fled, and the queen recovered her authority. On the 17th of June, 1566, in the castle of Edinburgh, she gave birth to a prince, subsequently James VI of Scotland. Finally a conspiracy was formed against Darnley, and he was blown up with gunpowder. On the 15th of May, 1567, she was compelled to marry Bothwell, one of the assassins of Darnley. In 1568 she revoked an abdication that she had been coerced into signing. At length the queen, weary of so many treasons, and unable any longer to endure an abode in a country where she was surrounded by so many traitors, determined to seek shelter in England.

Meantime, in 1570, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the secret leaders of the English Catholics, opened their minds to Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, and envoy of Pius V. They attached great value to the approbation of the pope, who addressed them in the following brief:

"Dear Sons, health and apostolical benediction:

"Knowing with greater certainty and in more detail, from your letter of the 8th of November (to which we replied on the 16th of February), the misfortunes of that (English) kingdom that once was so flourishing, we have been overwhelmed by a grief such as your undeserved sufferings—which we endure in your persons—could not fail to excite in our heart, and by our entirely paternal feeling towards you and the other Catholics of that kingdom. In fact, besides the common duty in virtue of which we must rejoice or lament the salvation or ruin of all Christian people, we feel especial benevolence and love for that kingdom. We remember that,

under God, it was by the care and the zeal of the most blessed Gregory, Roman pontiff, our predecessor, that that kingdom was converted from the worship of stocks and stones to the Christian faith, and was led by its most faithful laborers to the doctrine of the Holy Roman Catholic faith. It is for this reason that we cannot easily find expression for the affliction and trouble that we feel for your individual sufferings and those of the kingdom, which you deplore in that same letter in terms no less true than calculated to draw from us the tears of compassion.

"We are greatly afflicted that it has been reserved for the time of our pontificate to see the venom of so many abominable heresies strike so many deadly blows at the Christian republic.

"But, nevertheless, we remember the efficacy of the prayer of Him who asks for the blessed Saint Peter that his faith fail not, and who, extending his Church even in the midst of so many tribulations, governed it all the more admirably by the secret promptings of Providence as he knew it to be the more agitated and tempest-tossed. We do not despair to see in our own day, with the aid of the Lord, what was done and seen in other days; so that this same religion, which seems to be trampled under foot, shall return, at the first signal of the Lord, to its former felicity, and receive increase from what seemed fraught with evil.

"And now, perchance, he who can render the old new, and the new old, our Lord Jesus Christ, has resolved to make use of you, men no less illustrious by the nobility of your birth than distinguished by your devotion to the Catholic faith, to renew and confirm the union between that kingdom and the Roman Church; and to that end perchance it is that he has inspired the thought, so worthy of your zeal, to endeavor to restore both yourselves and the kingdom to the old sub-

mission, after snatching that kingdom from the shameful slavery in which it is kept by the passion of a woman.

"We grant, in the Lord, as it is just, to those pious and religious efforts the praises that they merit, and we bestow the benedictions that you solicit from us; and as your lordships seek a refuge beneath the shadow of our power and that of the Holy See, to which you submit yourselves, we receive you with the tenderness you deserve. Moreover, we exhort you in the name of the Lord, and we pray with all the ardor of which our heart is capable, constantly to persevere in these laudable resolutions and precious dispositions, holding it for certain that God Almighty, whose works are perfect, and who has inspired you to deserve well of the Catholic faith in that kingdom, will assist you. And even should it be that for the enfranchisement of the Catholic faith and the authority of the Holy See you must meet death and shed your blood, it is far more advantageous to you to speed to eternal life by the short road of a glorious death than to live on in shame and ignominy, the tool of an impotent woman and the destroyers of your own souls.

"Think not, in fact, well-beloved sons in Jesus Christ, that the bishops and princes in that kingdom which you name are unfortunate, because, having refused to renounce their faith, they have been undeservedly cast into prison or otherwise persecuted. In truth, no one can sufficiently praise the courage and constancy of these men, which, as we deem, are confirmed by the still recent example of the Blessed Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. Do you, also, imitate that same constancy; be courageous and firm, and let no threat, nor the sight of any peril, cause you to abandon your enterprise. He, in truth, is powerful enough, that God in whom you trust, he who overwhelmed the chariots and the horsemen of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, also to crush the power of these adversaries;

he is powerful enough to render you his instruments in restoring that kingdom to its ancient religion and dignity.

"Towards procuring that result, not only will we aid you in rendering you our services, with the Christian princes whom you mention, but, still further, in forwarding to you such sums of money as, upon your demand, our personal resources will permit us to furnish, as our dear son Robert Ridolfi, clearly and in more detail, will explain to you. We are also disposed to aid you with a larger sum than the weakness of our resources can at present support, as well as promptly and heartily to aid your pious efforts by all the means which, with God's aid, we may be able to command. Receive, dear sons, our apostolical benediction.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, on the 20th of February, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, and of our pontificate the fifth.

"Pius, PP. V."

But this brief gave only indirect aid to Mary, and Ridolfi was ordered to announce that a direct bull against Elizabeth was drawn up and would subsequently be published.

A painful captivity commenced for Mary; she was detained at Carlisle. However, she was treated with some distinction in the palace which she occupied. In November, 1569, the English privy council proposed to put Mary to death, on various pretexts: as (1) for her two marriages, to which she had been enforced; (2) as being an accomplice in the death of one of her husbands; (3) as the enemy of England. This last charge might have some connection with the gift to France of the kingdom of Scotland, but that gift had never produced any effect. Elizabeth dared not consent to sign the sentence; but she proposed to Murray, who had,

with the title of regent, a kind of royal power in Scotland, that Mary should be delivered to him.

In the month of January, 1570, Mary, still considered a prisoner, was taken to Sudbury.

At this period Pius V made his utmost efforts to procure her liberation; but the bull of excommunication issued against Elizabeth put a stop to all negotiations. It had been supposed that it would help instead of hindering them; it is certain at least that the murder of Mary was postponed.

We give in full that bull, Regnans in Excelsis, which fell like a thunderbolt upon England and Scotland:

"Pius, servant of the servants of God, for the perpetual remembrance of the fact.

"He who reigneth on high, to whom all power has been given, alike upon earth and in heaven, has intrusted to one alone, that is to say, to Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the care of governing, with plenitude of power, the Catholic Church, One, Holy, outside of which there is no salvation.

"He has constituted it alone over all the nations and over all the kingdoms, that it should root out, destroy, overturn, plant, and edify, in order that it should continue in the unity of the Holy Ghost, and that it should deliver to the Saviour, safe and free from all danger, the faithful people, bound together in the bond of mutual charity.

"We, being, by the great goodness of God, called to hold the helm of the Church, devote ourselves unceasingly to our charge, and omit no labor to preserve intact the unity itself, and the Catholic religion, which its Author has left exposed to tempest, in order to try the faith of his people and correct us for our faults.

"But the number of the impious has usurped so much power that there is no place in the world which they have not

endeavored to corrupt with their perverse doctrines. Among others, Elizabeth, the servant of crime and pretended Queen of England, has offered them an asylum in which they find shelter.

"This same Elizabeth, after seizing the throne, has usurped throughout England the authority of supreme head of the Church. She has monstrously exercised that power and that jurisdiction, and she has again cast into the way of a deplorable perdition that kingdom, once devoted to the Catholic faith and the recipient of its blessings.

"Elizabeth has destroyed the worship of the true religion, which was overturned by Henry VIII, and which the legitimate Queen Mary, so commendable to the respect of posterity, had succeeded in establishing by the efforts of her own powerful hand and with the assistance of the Holy See. Elizabeth, embracing and following the errors of the heretics, has dismissed the royal council of England, composed of members of the English nobility, and has replaced them by obscure heretics. She has oppressed those who cultivated the Catholic faith, and has replaced them by evil speakers and ministers of impiety. She has abolished the sacrifice of the Mass, prayers, fasting, distinctions of meat, celibacy, and Catholic rites. She has ordered the circulation of books containing a system of manifest heresy and of impious mysteries. She has commanded her subjects to receive, observe, and preserve precepts which she has adopted from Calvin. She has dared to decree that the bishops, rectors of churches, and the other Catholic priests be driven from their churches and deprived of their benefices. She has disposed of them and of other ecclesiastical things in favor of the heretics; and she has also decided upon causes the decision of which rightly belongs only to the Church.

"She has forbidden the prelates, clergy, and people to rec-

ognize the Roman Church and to obey its laws and its canonical sanctions. She has constrained most of her subjects to recognize her culpable laws and to abjure the obedience due to the sovereign pontiff. She has prescribed that, by oath, they shall recognize her as sole mistress, alike in things spiritual and temporal. She has inflicted penalties and punishments upon those whom she could not persuade, and those who persevered in the unity of the faith and in obedience.

"She has also thrown into prison bishops and rectors of churches, and many of them have perished there in misery.

"These things are well known to all nations; they are proved by the gravest testimony, and no room is left for tergiversation, excuse, or defence.

"We, seeing these impieties multiplied, and seeing that still other crimes are added to the first; seeing that the persecutions against the faithful are increasing, in consequence of the compulsion and self-will of the said Elizabeth, we are persuaded that her heart is more than ever hardened. Not only does she despise the pious prayers of good Catholics that she should be converted and brought back to her right mind, but, further, she has even refused to receive in England the nuncios whom we have sent. We, then, forced by necessity to resort to the arms of justice against her, cannot soften our grief that we have not severely dealt with a princess whose ancestors had so well deserved the praise of the Christian republic.

"We, therefore, supported by the authority of Him whose will has called us to the throne, although we are unworthy of such a charge, in the name of the apostolical authority, declare the said Elizabeth a heretic, and aider and abbettor of heretics, and that her adherents in the above-cited acts have incurred the sentence of anathema, and are separated from the unity of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"We declare her deprived of the pretended right to that kingdom, and of all domain, dignity, and privilege. We declare the subjects, the nobility and people of that kingdom, free from their oaths, and from all debt of subjection, of fidelity, and of respect; and, by the authority of these presents, we deprive the said Elizabeth of the right to her pretended kingdom. By this prescription we further forbid all nobles, people, subjects, and others to venture to obey the orders, advice, or laws of the said Elizabeth. As to those who shall act otherwise than as we here authorize and order, we include them in the same sentence of anathema.

"As it is difficult to carry these presents wherever necessary, we will and command that a written notarial copy, under the seal of a bishop and of this court, have the same authority in any tribunal and without, and have like force and value as if these actual presents were exhibited.

"Given at Rome, near Saint Peter's, the 26th of February, in the year 1570, and of our pontificate the fifth.

"Pius, PP. V."

Such was the sentence of the pontiff. Isolated, thrown into another history, and thus abandoned to itself, this sentence would excite a general consternation. But we have seen the reign of Gregory VII and that of Innocent III, and we are compelled to add that we have seen some laxity under Leo X in combating Luther; and we have seen the consequence of that kind of condescension in the sack of Rome, where the Lutherans succeeded in making the pious Spaniards their accomplices in the most disgraceful scenes.

During that frightful series of attacks against the Holy See, Philip II, the husband of Mary, predecessor of Elizabeth

on the English throne, laid the whole weight of his sword upon the rest of Europe, and perhaps the weight of the Indian gold upon some foreign ministers, whose importunities, complaints, and predictions might easily excite the just resentment of Pius V. Such decrees no longer issue from the Vatican; but what we have before spoken of as the jurisprudence of that time, and the cries of the English dying in dungeons or on scaffolds, explain, and more than explain, the conduct of the pontiff.

Elizabeth had been crowned in 1559, with great pomp and by a Catholic bishop, lest she should excite alarm; nevertheless, she was a Protestant at heart, and did not long delay to endeavor to establish that religion by fire and sword. In spite of the solemn oath she took at her coronation to defend the known Catholic religion and to protect its ministers, Elizabeth convoked a parliament which established the Anglican, such as it now is. The new queen made herself head of the religion, under the title of "Sovereign Governess of the Church of England, in things spiritual and temporal."

The bishops who opposed those innovations were threatened with expulsion from their churches; but most of them obeyed. Of the nine thousand four hundred holders of benefices in England, there were only fourteen bishops, fifty canons, and eighty parish priests who lost their benefices by refusing to accept the reform.

Spain was not free from trouble. When Philip II, after complaining to the pope of the conduct of Don Carlos, asked the pontiff's advice and spoke of subjecting the young prince, his son, Don Carlos, to a trial, a document was extracted from the archives of Barcelona to serve as a model for the charge. This was the trial of Charles, Prince of Viana and Gerona, by his father, John II, great-grandfather of Philip.

At the moment when sentence was about to be pronounced, the judges of Don Carlos, Cardinal Espinosa, the Prince of Evoli, and Don Diego Muñatones, paused, as if terrified by the importance of the judgment. Cardinal Espinosa entreated the king to leave the proceeding unfinished, and to keep the prince in perpetual confinement. No doubt it was at the suggestion of Pius V that the cardinal proposed thus to terminate so terrible an affair. Philip replied that his conscience as a monarch could not agree to this derogation of justice; that he was answerable before God for the fate of the peoples subjected to his sceptre, and that he should fail in the most sacred of his duties if he left Spain a prey to the calamities which might result from the existence of a prince destitute of all correct judgment and carried away by such perverse inclinations. Considering, however, that the state of his son's health left but little reason to believe that his life would be prolonged, the termination of his malady might be awaited, and the decrees of Providence left to their own fulfilment. Then he ordered that his son should not be left in ignorance of his danger, and that he should be induced to concern himself only with his eternal salvation.

No sentence, therefore, was either published or written; and Don Carlos himself, considering his illness beyond remedy, summoned to his bedside Don Diego de Chaves, his usual confessor. The prince instantly asked that religious to ask the king's pardon in his name. Philip replied that full pardon was granted, with the hope that this repentance would also secure God's mercy.

On the same day extreme unction was administered to him; and then he dictated his will to his secretary, Don Martin de Gaztala. The agonies of death now appeared, and Philip asked that he might come in person and give his blessing to his son. The two religious replied that there was ground to

fear that the sight of the king would disturb the mind of the prince, now wholly absorbed in his religious duties. This motive restrained Philip. Nevertheless, learning in the course of the night that the last moments of the prince were at hand, he went to the apartment of his son, and, placing himself behind the Prince of Evoli and the grand prior, tearfully gazed at his dying son, and, without being perceived by Carlos, extended his arms above his head, and then retired in a state of the deepest emotion.

The illustrious order of Saint John of Jerusalem had obtained singular privileges, alike useful and honorable, from Leo X, Clement VII, Paul III, and Paul IV. Saint Pius V would not do less than his predecessors. Confirming warmly all preceding privileges, and especially that exempting the members of the order, their squires, and their servants from tithes and all taxes, the Holy Father at the same time deprived bishops of all right to interfere in the affairs of the order under pretext of executing the decrees of the Council of Trent. The pope ordered that, the case occurring, this arrangement was derogated by the new constitution Etsi cuncta.

Some innovations were introduced into the tribunal of the penitentiary; Pius undertook to reform it wisely, or, rather, newly to construct it.

By the bull In omnibus rebus, and by another bull In earum rerum, he committed the direction of the penitentiary of Saint Peter, consisting of regular and secular priests, to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. They were to be thirteen in number, including the rector: two for the Italian language, two for the French language, two for the Spanish and Portuguese, one for the German, one for the Hungarian, one for the Flemish and Polish, one for the English, one for the Greek, and one for the Illyrian.

The penitentiary of Saint Mary Major was given to the Dominicans, and that of Saint John Lateran to the Observantine Franciscans.

The holy pontiff was forced to be inexorable to the Humiliati. The Emperor Henry III, having conquered the city of Milan, sent into Germany all the knights whom he found in that city. To recognize each other, they adopted a white dress. Thus attired, they presented themselves to the emperor and begged to return home, and the prince thought himself in some sort obliged to grant that favor. Many of them, under the venerable John de Meda, retained the white dress, and bound themselves by vow to lead a life of poverty, maintaining themselves by all sorts of painful labor. They took the name of the Humiliati, and were approved by an apostolic decree; but their way of life having been three times changed, Innocent III, in 1200, ordered them to live in community and recite the divine office. They were to have neither linen shirts nor sheets. Subsequently they were confirmed, and ordered to follow the rule of Saint Benedict. This occurred by Honorius III, in 1219; by Gregory IX, in 1227; by Innocent IV, in 1246; and by Nicholas IV, in 1288. They were especially employed in recalling the Patarine heretics to the one fold. But time and wealth produced a great laxity of life in this order, so that the religious had more vices themselves than the worst among the laity. Then Pius V issued a brief, addressed to the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Charles Borromeo, empowering him to reform them, and to take a tenth part of their abundant property and apply it to establish a novitiate according to their primitive rule. Saint Charles used mildness to recall the order to its pristine beauty, but the provosts of the order, seeing themselves deprived of their benefices, that is to say, of the convents of which they had usurped the income, as though

they were their personal property, resolved in revenge to kill Saint Charles. Three of these unworthy superiors, among whom was Jerome Lignano, provost of Saint Christopher of Vercelli, selected a religious named Jerome Donati, surnamed Farina, to carry out their infamous design, paying him forty crowns, stolen by another sacrilege from a neighboring church. Donati, escaping from the convent of Brera, after robbing the church, went to the archbishop's palace, and, finding him at prayer with his servants, he fired an arquebus at him, loaded with a large bullet and a bolt. The saint was not wounded; the whole charge fell at his feet, after piercing the rochet and other garments.

Notwithstanding the entreaty of the archbishop, who desired no punishment to be inflicted upon the would-be assassin, the Holy Father ascertaining the identity of the guilty parties, Farina, Lignano, and two others were punished with death.

At length, as the religious of this order took no steps to reform, the Holy Father, by his bull Quemadmodum, of the 7th of February in the following year, signed by forty-three cardinals, abolished the order.

Pius also renewed the decree of Boniface making it high treason to attempt the life of a cardinal.

For a long time a dispute had existed between Cosmo de' Medici, Duke of Florence, and Alphonso II, Duke of Ferrara, as to the right of precedence. Pius V, who had an especial affection for Tuscany, on account of the aid which, in the preceding century, it had given to the pontiffs, and who ever loved Cosmo, a prince sincere in faith and strongly attached to the Holy See, declared that, following the example of Alexander III, Innocent III, and Paul IV, who, respectively, had created a king of Portugal, a king of the

Bulgarians, and a king of Ireland, he of his own will, and without any request being made to him, created Cosmo grand duke.

The bull Romanus Pontifex was carried to Florence by Michael Ghislieri, brother of Cardinal Alexandrino, and it was accompanied by a design, from the pope's own hand, for the royal crown that Cosmo was to wear. Below was written: "Pivs V. Pont. Max., Ob eximiam Dilectionem ac Catholicæ Religionis Zelvm Præcipvvmqve Ivstitiæ Stvdivm, Donavit"—"Given by Pius V, on account of his tender affection for Cosmo for his zeal for the Catholic religion and his care for justice." Cosmo had a crown made after that design, which cost one hundred and twenty thousand crowns, with which His Holiness solemnly crowned the grand duke, on the 5th of March, 1570, in the pontifical chapel, and also, on the day of the consecration, gave him the golden rose.

That event led to scenes long unexampled. The emperor and the King of Spain protested that the pope had no right to crown their vassal. But Pius replied that, as we have already remarked, Benedict IX had created Demetrius King of Croatia and Dalmatia, although those provinces were dependent on Hungary, and, with such a precedent, he would not listen to their opposition; and with an apostolical firmness he thus addressed the imperial ambassador, who made his protest against the coronation, before entering the chapel: "Upon what ground can you deny that power to the Church? Who but the Church hath given to the emperors the name and the honor of their dignity? Who gave them the empire? Who transferred that of the East to the West, if not the pontiffs, our predecessors?"

Amidst so many cares of the pontifical ministry, the pope, on the 17th of May, 1570, made his third promotion. Among

those new members of the Sacred College were: (1) Gaspar Zuñiga Avellaneda, a noble Spaniard of the family of the counts of Miranda, professor of theology at Salamanca, and successively Bishop of Segovia, Compostella, and Seville; (2) Gaspar Cervantes, a Spaniard, born at Caceres, Archbishop of Messina in 1554, and afterwards of Tarragona; (3) Nicholas de Pellevé, a noble Frenchman, professor of law in the University of Bourges, master of the requests, and subsequently Bishop of Amiens; (4) Charles d'Angennes, a noble Frenchman, ambassador from Charles IX to Pius V; (5) Felice Peretti, afterwards Pope Sixtus V; (6) the Blessed Paul Borali d'Arezzo; (7) John Jerome Albani, a celebrated jurisconsult, and afterwards a famous captain of the Venetian republic.

One of the great glories of Pius V was the alliance which he concluded on the 20th of May, 1571, between the Holy See, Philip II of Spain, and the republic of Venice, against Selim II, Emperor of the Turks, son of Soliman II, and Roxelana, a very beautiful Siennese, whom Soliman had raised from the condition of a slave to that of wife.

In pursuance of this treaty, a combined fleet was fitted out, which soon consisted of two hundred and nineteen galleys, six galeases, and about seventy vessels, large and small, manned by twenty thousand men, exclusive of the sailors, gunners, and galley-slaves. The supreme general of the expedition was Don John of Austria, natural son of the Emperor Charles V.

The high constable, Mark Antony Colonna, Duke of Paliano and Tagliacozzo, was the commander of the pontifical fleet, consisting of twelve galleys, manned by fifteen hundred men.

Andrew Doria, a famous Genoese captain, commanded the Spanish division, and Sebastian Vénier the Venetian force,

its first commander, Barbarigo, having fallen at the very outset of the battle.

The Christian army, joined by the Knights of Malta and the galeases of the Duke of Savoy, sailed for the Levant. On the 7th of October, 1571, they came up with the Turkish fleet of two hundred and forty-five galleys, and eighty-seven vessels of various sizes, as it lay in the Gulf of Lepanto. It was once more incumbent to drive the Turk from Italy; once more the prodigies of Charles Martel and those of the heroes of Malta were to be renewed. The battle lasted five hours. As the fifth hour closed, victory declared for the Christians, bought, however, at the loss of seven thousand five hundred and sixty-six men, including the greater number of the Venetians. The Turks lost Ali Pasha, general of the whole army; the famous corsair Carascosa; Hassan Pasha, renowned for his ability, son of the celebrated Barbarossa; and, finally, Hassan, bey of Rhodes. The Turkish army also lost thirty-nine raïs, or commanders of galleys, and more than thirty-one thousand men. The Christians, as day declined, took ten thousand prisoners, and rescued fifteen thousand Christian slaves, who at once filled the sadly thinned ranks of the Italian galleys.

All authors consider this as one of the most signal victories ever won by the Christians over the Mussulmans, but they do not agree as to the loss sustained on both sides.

Meantime, Elizabeth, in Great Britain, continued to imprison all who professed the Catholic faith. Pius sent nuncios to all the powers to invite them to aid the English who were suffering for the faith. In various places the exiled English were assembled, and the pope zealously undertook the care of ministering to their wants.

The Emperor Maximilian seemed inclined to allow the Confession of Augsburg to be followed in Austria. Cardinal

Commendone was sent as legate to that province, and persuaded him to protect the Catholic religion. Philip II assisted the cardinal by negotiation; and Rome, which had vanquished the Turks, had reason to believe that she had also been successful against the Lutherans. Yet it was withal necessary to reform in all parts clergy who, retaining the faith, did not in their lives come up to the standard of duty.

A pragmatic of the pope forbade clerks and ecclesiastics to indulge in luxury, whether in dress or at table. He forbade them to be present in theatres, and endeavored to root up the disorders that had recently crept into the Church. He annulled wills, otherwise legal, made by ecclesiastics in favor of their bastards. A bull took away the power to resign benefices to relations. Among others, it contained these words: "The Holy Father cannot suffer the patrimony of Jesus Christ to be given as a heritage and become a prey to the cupidity of laymen." Some one having represented to the Holy Father that so much strictness would be ruinous to the Roman court, he replied: "Better that the court should perish, and with it all those who are in favor of such corruptions and such disorders; at least we should not see the Church and religion perish, which are profaned by such enormous abuses."

An edict forbade Roman householders to frequent taverns to eat, drink, and play, alleging that such places were only intended for strangers who had no settled homes. This prohibition, necessary in all cities and towns to prevent disorder, was, says Muratori, of no long duration.

To fulfil the decrees of the Council of Trent, the pontiff ordered all bishops more than ever to labor for the erection of the Congregations of the Christian Doctrine, to secure the instruction of children and uneducated adults ignorant of the commandments of our holy religion.

The same council had, in imitation of the third and fourth Councils of Lateran, established theological prebends for the instruction of the respective chapters. Pius V, by his bull In eminenti, instituted in the Vatican Basilica a theological prebend, and assigned it, as well as a canonship of the same church, to the master of the sacred palace, Thomas Manriquez, a Spanish Dominican, and his successors. These, having imbibed in the order of Saint Dominic the doctrine of Saint Thomas, the most used and the safest in the Church, could thus teach it to the members of the chapter and to those who followed their instruction in the apostolic palace.

The pope further declared this religious to be a true canon, entitled to a place in the choir, and possessed of the right of voting and being chosen to office in chapters, entitled to his income as canon, and, in fine, to all the honors of his dignity as canon. This determination of Pius V was not long recognized. Manriquez died on the 11th of January, 1573. Gregory XIII, thinking that the determination of Saint Pius V might seem injurious to the secular clergy of Rome, as inferring that the Roman clergy could not fill the post, revoked the bull of Pius V, and ordered that for the future the theological prebend and the Vatican canonship should be filled by a doctor in theology of the Roman clergy.

At the same period Saint Pius V corrected and regulated the Roman breviary, the Missal, and the office of the Blessed Virgin. He purged the offices of much that had been added by the caprice of the printers. This pope, too, ordered all priests to recite the Gospel of Saint John at the end of the Mass. Some had been in the habit of reciting, and some of omitting it. At the present day it is not recited by the Carthusians, nor by those who sing the Mass in the papal chapel; the latter commence it at the altar, and continue to recite it till they reach the sacristy.

This pope also added to the Academy of Pavia the Ghislieri College. That Rome might not complain of this foundation in another city, Pius ordered the completion of the Sapienza, where he placed new professors, with considerable emoluments.

At the beginning of 1572 the pope was attacked by dysuria, which deprived him of sleep; and in the month of March the symptoms became alarming. Without listening to the physicians or allowing them to examine him or to touch the seat of the malady, he had recourse to his usual remedy, ass's milk, which had formerly relieved him, but which had now no effect on a debilitated body.

The remedy in which Pius had so much confidence did not diminish his sufferings. Then the good pontiff turned to the sole remedy—patience. Amidst the tortures that he endured from the gravel, he exclaimed: "Lord, increase the suffering; but, if it please thee, increase the patience also."

A report of the pope's death was circulated one day, and the ambassadors sent couriers to their respective courts. The Romans manifested lively regrets. But the report was not then true. He recovered consciousness after a prolonged swoon. His Holiness was told of the regret that the Romans had expressed at his supposed death, and he determined to give them his last benediction. On Saturday, attired in his pontifical habit, he ordered himself to be carried to the great lodge of the Vatican, and there, with abundant tears, he blessed his people.

On the 21st of April, notwithstanding the entreaties of Mark Antony Colonna, Pius visited the seven churches, sometimes on foot, and then in a litter. On arriving at Saint John Lateran, he was unable to ascend the Scala Santa, but, assisted by a cardinal, he kissed the lowest step. There he had agreed to meet a number of English Catholic exiles. He

spoke to them with the most lively sensibility, and ordered assistance to be given to them. Then he returned to the Vatican, and was obliged to be assisted to his bed. Cardinal Alexandrino, his nephew, promptly administered the sacraments, which he received with the sincerest joy. A few days afterwards he died, on the 1st of May, 1572, aged sixty-eight years. He was interred at the Vatican, in the chapel of Saint Andrew. The celebrated Muretus pronounced the funeral oration in presence of the cardinals.

Saint Pius V was of ordinary stature. His countenance, serious, modest, and calm, breathed sanctity. His face was thin and pale, but often much flushed. He was bald, had blue eyes, an aquiline nose, and wore a long beard. His memory was so prodigious that, even after the lapse of many years, he recognized a person to whom he had spoken only once—a valuable gift in the affairs of life. As soon as he had heard explained a view, a project, an object of association, or a secret of any kind, he understood at the first word all that was subsequently said to him as to any one of those affairs, and often corrected or prompted his ministers whose memory was not so faithful. When he became pope, he ordered that to the expense of his table when cardinal only four pauls (about forty cents) should be added. But his liberality to the poor of Rome, and to the English ruined for preserving the Catholic faith, might all but literally be said to know no limit. His charities and generosity were said to have cost two millions of gold crowns; yet, in spite of this expense, this pope left in the treasury a million of crowns, besides a hundred thousand crowns receivable in the following month. In his chamber were found thirteen thousand crowns, which his master of the chamber held at the disposal of so noble a benefactor for the relief of unforeseen applications from English Catholics.

In fact, the virtues of Saint Pius V were so numerous that they excited a feeling of confidence in the faithful, and his beatification was seriously thought of and was zealously prosecuted under Gregory XV. It was definitively pronounced one hundred and one years after his death. Subsequently, by a decree of the 4th of August, 1710, the canonization was pronounced.

The Holy See was vacant eleven days.

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GREGORY XIII—A.D. 1572

GREGORY XIII (Ugo Buoncompagni) was born at Bologna, on the 7th of February, 1502, the son of Christopher Buoncompagni and Agnola Marescalchi, noble and very distinguished persons of that city.

Gifted with an intellect which facilitated the acquisition of knowledge, Ugo had, in the University of Bologna, as guides, four celebrated jurisconsults, Louis Mozzoli, Annibale Caccianamichi, Louis Gozadini, and Charles Rovini. At twenty-eight years of age he was received doctor of both laws. While professor for some months, he had among his pupils Alessandro Farnese, Christopher Madruzzi, Otho Truchsess, Reginald Pole, and Charles Borromeo, all subsequently cardinals.

Ugo had the honor to be summoned to Rome, at thirty-six years of age, by Cardinal Peter Paul Parizzio, a renowned jurisconsult. Paul III named Ugo, in succession, first judge of the Capitol, and abbreviator and referendary of the two signatures. In 1545 the pope sent him to the

GREGORY XIII

Council of Trent, that great and majestic school in which so many sublime talents of that age were formed. In 1555 Buoncompagni was vice-legate of the Campagna of Rome. In all his employments he distinguished himself by his knowledge, his abilities, and the noblest religious sentiments.

By Paul IV he was assigned as datary to Cardinal Caraffa, legate in France. Subsequently Pius IV made Buoncompagni his most confidential deputy at the Council of Trent, and then created him cardinal-priest of Saint Sixtus. That pope, in giving him the hat, said, "Behold a man in whom there is no guile."

Two months after, Cardinal Buoncompagni was sent as legate to Spain, to investigate the case of Bartholomew Miranda y Carranza, of the Order of Preachers, Archbishop of Toledo, one of the theologians of the Council of Trent, and confessor to the Queen of Spain, who had for six years been imprisoned by the Inquisition on suspicion of heresy, an accusation founded simply on a few notes written on the margins of some heretical books.

The pope gave Buoncompagni, as theologians, Felice Peretti and Stephen Bonucci, a Servite. Two other prelates, John Raphael Castagna and John Aldobrandini, were also attached to the legation. Three among them—Buoncompagni, Peretti, and Castagna—became popes.

Before returning to Rome, the legate, whose virtues were admired, was appointed secretary of the briefs by the same Pius IV.

On the death of the latter, Buoncompagni would have succeeded, but for the envy of some members of the conclave. He did not, indeed, arrive in season to participate in it. When he obtained his first audience of Pius V, the pope said to him, in a tone of tender esteem: "My Lord Cardinal, we have occupied your place"—words worth repeating, as ex-

pressive of the kindliness, the politeness, and the elegant manners of the popes.

On the 12th of May, 1572, after the funeral of Pius V, fifty-two cardinals entered into conclave. Cardinals Altemps, Sforza, Orsini, Cesi, and Como, who supported Cardinal Farnese, saw that his youth made it impossible to raise him to the throne. Cardinal de Granvelle declared, in the name of the King of Spain, that his selection was impossible, in the presence of so many aged and deserving cardinals. Then a great many other cardinals, in addition to those just named, put forward Buoncompagni, and the choice being relished, they resolved, on the 13th of May, to elect him on the following day, the 14th. He was seventy years of age. Cardinal Como then visited Buoncompagni, from whom everything had been carefully concealed, and said to him: "Come immediately to the chapel, and you will be elected by adoration."

Buoncompagni, without the slightest change of countenance, replied: "Are there sufficient votes?"

"More than sufficient," was the reply. Then Buoncompagni, as if nothing strange had occurred, continued quite calmly to write on some important business. When he had finished, he placed the papers in his bosom and rose to go to the chapel, saying: "Let us go, in the name of the Lord."

In memory of Saint Gregory the Great, whom he had, from childhood, always venerated as his patron, the new pope took the name of Gregory XIII, and chose as his motto the words of Psalm lxvii. 29: "Confirma hoc Deus, quod operatus es in nobis"—"O God, confirm that which thou hast wrought in us."

On Whitsunday, May 20, the pope was solemnly crowned; and on the 27th, mounted on a white palfrey, went to take possession of Saint John Lateran.

Like Saint Pius V, he forbade money to be thrown among

the people, ordering abundant alms to be distributed among the poor.

He immediately appointed secretary of state Cardinal Galli, usually called Cardinal Como, being bishop of that city. In the first consistory the pontiff had the bull read which forbade the alienation of the property of the Church; and, laying his hand on his heart, swore to suffer no infraction of that law.

A commission, consisting of Cardinals Borromeo, Paleotti, Aldobrandini, and Arezzo, was appointed to destroy all abuses that had crept into ecclesiastical discipline.

Gregory insisted on the inviolable observance of the decrees of his predecessor regarding the Council of Trent; and he declared that no implied permission of the pope authorized cardinal-bishops to avoid the law of residence. The better to enforce the spirit of the holy council, the pope decreed that, in future, no bishop should be employed at court, and that the clerks of the chamber and the auditors of the Rota who were bishops should resign either the office or their see.

To facilitate access to the pope and apply to him in need, Gregory appointed one day in each week for a public audience, during which he displayed singular patience.

Before the close of the audience, chamberlains went to ascertain that no one had been forgotten; and he often said that the pope was, after all, only an honored servant.

Gregory, says Novaes, was attentive in listening, judicious in evincing his entire comprehension of each case, serious in his bearing, rare in interruption, favorable in language, and at all times benevolent and merciful. To show his desire of relieving his people, he diminished the tax on meat and abolished that on wine in the province of Romagna.

The Turks regarded the death of Saint Pius V as a deliverance from all their enemies, and celebrated his death by public feasts. Gregory thought that the head of Catholicism ought never to cease from striving to repress the ambition of the Turks, and he solicited new armaments from the Christian princes.

A considerable fleet encountered the Turks at Navarino, but retired with little honor to the Christian standard; and Venice, ill advised, concluded peace with the Porte, without forewarning the allies, the Holy See, and Philip II.

In the same year, 1572, on the 2d of June, Gregory made his first promotion. It included only the creation of his nephew, Philip Buoncompagni, who was declared cardinal of the title of Saint Sixtus.

But terrible symptoms were appearing in France. Elizabeth of England, on being excommunicated, made a treaty with the Huguenots and upheld their power. The court, hesitating between the religious innovators and the ambitious Guises, was agitated, yet unable to resolve upon a firm and prudent course. Catharine de' Medici, who had gone to France in her youth, ill acquainted with the morals, the habits, and the polity of her own country, which was unjustly reputed to be perverse and dissimulating, and being still less acquainted with the character of the French whom she was called upon to govern, rushed into difficulties from which there seemed to be no issue, and everything boded those frightful disasters which necessarily result from indecision and ignorance.

At the commencement of the reign of Gregory that state of things existed at Rome which usually marks the first months after an election, and especially one by adoration, when every elector believes himself one of the most active in creating the new pope.

All the factions solicited rewards, and a pope seventy years old could only reply by smiles and consent to those interested petitions. It takes at least a year for these importunities to cease and the pope's power to become vested again in himself alone on a firm and solid basis.

At that juncture Cardinal de Lorraine arrived in Rome, still occupied with his desire to avenge the death of his brother Francis, the glorious defender of Metz in 1552, the proudest general of the king's armies, who had exalted the French name in the estimation of Italy in 1559, the wise lieutenant-general of the kingdom in 1563, and at the same period shot, without his widow, Anne of Ferrara, having been able to procure the condemnation of his assassin, Poltrot de Méné, who belonged to the Huguenot party. The cardinal was discontented with the peace made by Charles IX with the Huguenots in 1570. He also urged that all Italy should enter into the league against the Turks, a league which would naturally distract the public mind from those hypocritical plottings and those audacious provocations which produce the forgetfulness of all religious feeling and lead to the dishonor of nations. All at once Rome heard of the frightful massacre of Saint Bartholomew. That terrible event, that sanguinary page of the history of France, merits lively comment, especially if new details can throw broader and brighter light upon so deplorable a scene. The following are Saint-Simon's notes, which are still in the department of foreign affairs at Paris.

"1572. Secret deliberations upon the massacre. The Guises are for including the new King of Navarre, the Montmorencys, and Catholics odious to them, the Duke of Anjou, and Marshal de Retz. Alone in the secret with Catharine de' Medici, the Guises insist upon the death of the King of Navarre and the young Louis de Condé, which proves that

the Guises aspired to the throne and wished to destroy the branch next in claim to the palais.

"The queen hesitates, from fear of being dependent upon the Guises. Charles IX keeps the secret during all those long intrigues, but embarrasses them by his uncertainty, especially with regard to the admiral (Coligny), whom he rather likes; since, to attract the Huguenots, he was with all, under pretext of the war of the Low Countries, of which he was to be the chief, to support their revolt against the Inquisition of Spain. The rudeness of the king to his mother and brother, after a long conversation with the admiral, but which he never disclosed, drove them to definitive action. The massacre began by wounding the admiral, and a visit to the king and his mother, full of the most perfidious demonstrations. The admiral is killed at the same time as the others, and is never so admirably great as at his end. Indignities upon his body by the third Duke of Guise. Butchery, which includes all Catholics who were to be removed. The Montmorencys are saved by the absence of one of them and of one Cossé. The King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé become Catholics, with the dagger at their throats. The massacre, dissimulated at first, is avowed by public edict, at the instigation of the Guises, who do not choose to be alone in bearing that eternal infamy of the nation."

Such were the events which France had witnessed. Henry of Guise, under the pretext of avenging his father, had led into a series of crimes a boy king, who had nevertheless shown rudeness to his mother and brother after a long conversation with the admiral, of which he would never speak, and his rudeness drove them to end the matter at once. Henry of Guise could easily prevail with Catharine de' Medici, who had heard the Marshal de Saint André say: "We shall have no happiness till we put this woman into a

sack and throw her into the Seine." In Catharine's heart, moreover, ambition stifled every feeling of humanity. There had been no difficulty in making fraud acceptable to the Duke of Anjou, who subsequently, as Henry III, invited that same Henry of Guise to Blois, made him lieutenant-general, promised him the sword of Constable, and then had him poniarded upward, "lest he might wear a shirt of mail."

What remained for Cardinal Charles de Lorraine to do, enjoying as he did great credit at Rome, where the new administration was not yet fairly installed?

On the morning of September 6, 1572, the letters which Salviati, the pope's legate, had written from France were read before the pope in a meeting of cardinals. These letters stated that, according to the declarations of the French court, Coligny and the Huguenots, having conspired against the monarch, had been put to death by the king's wish and consent. Then it was decided, on the somewhat violently worded demand of Cardinal de Lorraine, that the pope and the Sacred College should, on the following Monday, be present at a solemn celebration. Many artists came forward to decorate the Church of Saint Mark, where the celebration was to be held. The day of grief and terror had come for those whom Luther had summoned to discord. The cardinal publicly gave a thousand crowns to the courier who brought him the news he so much desired. On the 8th of September the French had a grand procession in the Church of Saint Louis, a sanctuary much enriched by the endowments of Catharine de' Medici. Most of the Roman nobility and crowds of people flocked to the ceremony, in which the Protestants were publicly cursed. "The emperor's ambassador," says a contemporary account, "held the train of the pope's robe for the honor that he did to the emperor above all others." The cardinal had fastened on the three doors of the

church, between the statues of Charlemagne and Saint Louis, a notification addressed to the pope, to the cardinals, to the senate and people of Rome, in which he lauded the massacre in Paris, and recalled all that Rome had suffered under the Lutherans. He also said that "he greatly rejoiced that his house had been the chief actors in so great and so memorable a deed."

This whole document was a mixture of braggadocio, delirium, and ferocity, and to affix it to the church door was an audacious act and an affront to the sovereignty of Gregory XIII. For what right had a cardinal to use such language in a city which was not under his rule? But it must again be remarked that the nobility and people of Rome, and more especially the artists, regarded the death of the Huguenots, killed, as was affirmed, for attempting high treason, simply as a just punishment, and a vengeance upon the crimes committed in 1527. Forty-five years after the sack of Rome, there remained witnesses of both sexes, and even victims who had suffered from those crimes; and it was by those witnesses and by those victims that the blind hatred of the populace was animated. Vasari, a pupil of Rosso, who had been so inhumanly treated—Vasari, who had often heard his master relate his misfortunes of that terrible time, proposed to preserve, in a fresco, the memory of those events. He died two years afterwards, but not before he had sketched two works—Charles IX in his Parliament, and the Scenes of the Massacre of Paris.

Gregory subsequently secured all the authority rightfully his in his own capital, and he alone regulated the policy of the Holy See, which thenceforth was wise and moderate. It was evident that during the rejoicings at Rome he had been carried away irresistibly by the tumultuous movement of a disorderly populace. The allocutions and the bulls of the

pontiff speedily proved his real sentiments as to a political crime which the sacking of Rome could not justify.

At that period the Maronites, that same people whose misfortunes were so grievous at a later day, applied to Gregory for his protection. They occupied Mount Lebanon and some towns in Syria, and from time immemorial had conformed to the Latin dogma. Yet there was a fear that under Turkish persecution errors might creep in. With the consent of the patriarch Michael de Citaravia, two ambassadors were sent to the pope, who received them with especial kindness. He confirmed their patriarch, as is customary to the present day, and he read with pleasure the letters they exhibited, letters addressed to them by Pope Innocent III in the year 1200, congratulating them on their firm union with the Western Church. They also exhibited missions sent to the Maronites by Saint Louis, authorizing their prince to give letters of French nobility. The pope sent these Catholics home with rich presents, and accompanied by two Jesuits, appointed visitors of the Lebanon. Subsequently Sixtus V granted privileges to the college of the Maronites established at Rome.

In 1578 Gregory, who, when professor at Bologna, had been engaged in correcting Gratian's Decretal and the canon law generally, ordered investigations to be made for any fragments of the councils there cited, so that the Corpus Juris Canonici might be reprinted at Rome, purged of accumulated errors.

Gratian, a celebrated canonist, born at Chiusi, in the Siennese, about the year 1100, published a decretal consisting of (1) texts of the Holy Scripture; (2) the apostolical canons; (3) about a hundred and five councils, the first nine being œcumenical; (4) the decretals of the popes; (5) extracts from the holy Fathers, as Saint Gregory, Saint Jerome, and

Saint Augustine, and extracts from the ecclesiastical writers, pontifical books, Theodosian Code, the Capitularies of the kings of France, etc. Gratian styled his work Concordantia Discordantium Canonum, because it was his study to reconcile, either by authority or by reasoning, the apparently contradictory canons. The manuscript of Gratian's work began to circulate in 1151. Other writers had previously undertaken similar compilations. At the end of the ninth century, or the beginning of the tenth, Reginon, abbot of Prum, made a collection of canons and ecclesiastical regulations. Burchard or Bouchard, Bishop of Worms, in the year 1000, also gave a collection of canons in twenty books; and Yves of Chartres, who died in 1115, formed a similar collection. Gratian, according to some a Benedictine, but according to Savioli, in the Annali Bolognesi, not a monk, profited by the labors of his predecessors—occasionally, it must be confessed, without sufficient discrimination; but he surpassed them by avoiding the lamentable confusion prevalent in their collections. He arranged his in the order of the subjects and divided it into three parts. In the first he gives all relative to law and to the ministers of the Church; in the second, judgments; and under the head De Consecratione, in the third, he gives all that concerns sacraments and ceremonies. Gratian's work, on its appearance, eclipsed all former collections, even that of Yves of Chartres, till then of great authority. Eugene III is said to have approved it. It is certain, at least, that the Decretal was received with a kind of enthusiasm in the school of Bologna, and that from that school, then one of the most famous, it passed into France, and was taught at Paris, Orléans, and in the other universities. It speedily became the text upon which the professors of canon law commented in their lectures and in their writings. Nevertheless, it was very far from perfection, for disputed

documents were inserted, besides some of the most authentic that have come down to us from antiquity. In proportion as light increased, these defects were more sensibly felt. In France, Spain, and Italy, it was conceded that Gratian needed revision. The celebrated popes Pius IV and Pius V employed several learned men on the work; among others, Buoncompagni when a professor. When he became pope, he approved his work by a bull.

The first dated edition of Gratian is that of Strasburg, 1471, folio, Henry Eggestein—an edition the more remarkable as being the first specimen of typography emanating from the city of Strasburg. The same printer, in the same city, reprinted it in the following year, and P. Schoeffer gave an edition in 1472, at Mainz, in two volumes, folio.

The work has since often been reprinted, and forms the first volume of the Corpus Juris Canonici. The corrections accepted by Gregory XIII were printed at Rome.

The Holy Year now approached, and Gregory, a far-seeing prince, determined that it should be celebrated with order and magnificence; and he gave orders to the governors of the Ecclesiastical States to take the necessary measures for a good and prudent police.

They were to provide against the possibility of scarcity of the necessaries of life, and to have roads and bridges in the best possible order. The Commissioners of Abundance in Rome were to lay in a great quantity of breadstuffs, wine, and vegetables. The proprietors of lodgings were invited to keep them at the usual rents, and to turn no one away until the expiration of the Holy Year. To induce the cardinals to embellish the churches of their titles, the pope ordered that in all the basilicas needful repairs should be immediately made. The porches of Saint Peter and Saint Mary Major, which previously had been somewhat neglected, were

almost rebuilt, and from the latter to Saint John Lateran a wide street was opened, more convenient for both carriages and foot-passengers.

The pope strove to keep John, King of Sweden, true to the Catholic faith; and he also endeavored to maintain Henry of Valois upon the throne of Poland; but on the death of his brother, Charles IX, Henry preferred to return to France.

Meantime, Ernest, second son of the Duke of Bavaria, arriving in Rome, had a magnificent reception, and Gregory ordered all that was splendid or beautiful in Rome to be shown him. Charles Frederic, Duke of Cleves, cousin of Ernest, afterwards visited Rome and met with a similar reception. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Parma, who afterwards arrived in Rome with their numerous retinues, were treated with a royal luxury.

The ceremonies of the jubilee commenced. The holy door was opened: the concourse of pilgrims was so great that in one single day the Hospital of the Trinity received eight thousand. No tumult occurred. A still greater concourse, in spite of the winter, witnessed the closing of the holy door; and scarcely was the Holy Father freed from these labors when he zealously resumed those ever incumbent upon the supreme pontiff.

The errors of the Confession of Augsburg prevailed more than ever in Bohemia. Gregory induced the bishops of that country to combat the schism, and the good people were speedily brought back to the worship of their fathers.

Maximilian had not yet gone to Rome to receive the imperial crown. Without doubt he was emperor-elect, but he had deferred fulfilling a duty which would have strongly confirmed his rights. The pope at the same time endeavored to procure Maximilian's election as King of Poland. No alarming schism was visible in the country of Jagellon, and

if Maximilian had governed at Cracow, the tendency of that prince to weakness of action in regard to the doctrines of Luther might have been neutralized by the strongly Catholic sentiment of Poland.

Italy presented some dangerous agitations. Gregory sent Cardinal Moroni to Genoa to restore concord among the nobles, whose envenomed quarrels were ruining the commerce of the country and its important trade with the Levant.

A treaty had been concluded some time before between Gregory and Philip II, with a view to mitigating the evils which Elizabeth had inflicted upon England, as well as to obtain the release of Mary, Queen of Scots, and cause her to marry Don John of Austria, the conqueror at Lepanto, who had so recently saved Italy from an incursion of the Mussulman. But this scheme of the Spanish court was not relished. The efforts in favor of Mary were therefore limited to words, mere wishes that she might obtain her liberty, and so escape what the celebrated Madame de Staël calls "the sanguinary coquetry" of Elizabeth.

In the fatal year 1576 the plague appeared in Europe, and extended its ravages into Germany, France, Spain, and many parts of Italy, especially Venice and Milan.

Everywhere the religious orders covered themselves with glory. The Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Jesuits, in a word, all, at the least sign from the head of the Church, hastened to relieve and exhort the sick, to console those who in an instant lost their whole family, and to distribute money to the poor. The people, who, when not misled by falsehood, well know how to recognize their benefactors, visited, when the pestilence had disappeared, with a deep grief the almost deserted convents. In these convents remained only infirm old men and a few of those men, so dear to God, who can sup-

port fatigue, watching, and the constant sight of death; those men whom Providence has marked out by a particular sign to survive so much suffering, very often out of all proportion to the strength given to us here below for the preservation of our miserable lives.

Gregory felt more alarm than other European princes. His correspondence with Constantinople, Syria, and Jerusalem informed him that the Turks were arming, and he feared that under the protection of that scourge, with which they constantly lived, as it were, on friendly terms, and encouraged by their senseless doctrine of fatalism, they might be preparing for a sudden attack upon some ill-guarded point. The vigilant pontiff feared lest the Turks, summoned by the plague, might become the allies of that almost irremediable evil, which their effendis called their compatriot and their friend against the greed of the Western nations. But God looked down with pity upon his Church. The report spread that all the Greeks whom commerce had attracted to Genoa, and all the Turkish prisoners on the peninsula, had been the first victims of the plague, aggravated by homesickness. Moreover, Malta and Venice made new efforts to repulse the Mussulmans, should they venture to attack Christendom.

When calm was somewhat restored in Germany and Italy, and communication became easier, Gregory raised to the cardinalate Andrew of Austria, natural son of the Archduke Ferdinand and Philippine Vetzler, and grand-nephew of the Emperor Charles V and Ferdinand I. The young prince was only eighteen years of age. But no one regretted the favors granted to Austria to maintain her in that truly Christian constancy which she has never betrayed.

Rudolph II, who had succeeded his father, Maximilian II, asked no confirmation from Rome. Gregory invited him to send an ambassador to Rome with the special mission to

solicit the customary confirmation. Rudolph replied that the delay arose from some circumstances which he was about to examine carefully.

It was not imagined at Rome that any serious difficulty would arise.

At Rome a document was carefully preserved, signed by the seven electors, by which they recognized the right of the Holy See to elect the emperor. They stated that it was their duty and that of the emperor not to oppose the Holy See as to that right, and that they were bound to pay to the Holy See obedience, subjection, and, as the document expresses it, honorificence.

In fact, that right had been recognized by several emperors.

Rudolph, though he seemed so much inclined to follow the example of Maximilian II, his father, in refusing obedience, nevertheless sent John Zenner to Rome. That envoy, in the address which he had prepared, changed the term "obedience" into "respect." Gregory would not recognize the substitution. He gave a private audience to Zenner and his colleagues, in which no business was transacted, and then wrote an autograph letter to Rudolph, entreating him to follow the example of his predecessors. Rudolph finally consented to be called in the discourse the "most obedient" son of His Holiness, and he sent the decree of his election, which till then had been retained in Vienna. Then the pope, in a public consistory, confirmed the election, and caused an act of the confirmation to be drawn up and signed by all the cardinals.

About this time, John, King of Sweden, sent an ambassador to Rome. The king, by his letters and by the mouth of his envoy, testified his desire to belong to the Catholic religion, and he also desired that a person worthy of confidence

should be sent to his court to conclude a treaty with him. The Holy Father intrusted the embassy to the Jesuit Father Possevin. It was in the hands of that wise missionary that the king, urged by his wife, Catharine of Poland, abjured the errors of Lutheranism; and then both king and queen sought means to restore the doctrines of the Catholic religion throughout their kingdom. But the sweet joys of the Holy See are often traversed by bitter disappointment. Cardinal Gesualdo, protector of the kingdom of Naples, had proposed, in consistory, the vacant Church of Trani as a patronal right of the crown of Spain, and shortly afterwards he in the same form proposed the same as to the Church of Catania in Sicily. Gregory felt obliged to reply to both these proposals. To the first he declared that the king had the nomination only by apostolical privilege; to the second it was admitted that, in 1530, Clement VII had granted to Charles V the nomination to the churches of Sicily and Sardinia, but only during the life of that prince; and since that time no such concession had been made. Then the king's ministers, ceasing to ask as for a right, resorted to entreaties and solicitations. In consequence, the pope, for that time only, granted the patronage for the nomination to the sees of Catania and Palermo, then vacant.

Subsequently, in the same year, 1577, the pontiff erected in South America three cathedrals, with the right of patronage —Santa Marta, Truxillo, and Arequipa.

King Sebastian, a prince of whom the most brilliant hopes were formed, reigned in Portugal. He contemplated extensive conquests in Africa, and would not listen to any of his councillors who endeavored to dissuade him from that project. Gregory granted various spiritual advantages which he had ardently solicited.

New iron-mines were discovered in Spoleto, and Gregory

farmed them out, to the profit of the treasury, at very high royalties. The apostolic chamber had thus a new source of revenue.

For six years Buoncompagni, father of the cardinal of Saint Sixtus, and brother of the pope, had lived in Bologna without visiting the pope after his elevation. This year, desiring to see the pontificate more closely, he privately set out for Rome. The Holy Father, informed of his journey, and resolved to give no cause of complaint, was disinclined to have more of his family at court, and especially not his sister-in-law, Cecilia Bargelini, a woman of haughty character. When the party reached Otricoli, they were met by orders to return. With equal courage Gregory confined at Perugia one of his relatives for having on his own authority rescued an esteemed servitor from prison. In vain influential princes represented that the fault had been immediately repaired, and that the servant had been voluntarily returned to the prison: the pope was inflexible, and would not overlook the infractions of the laws of the land, which set so dangerous an example to other relatives of the sovereign.

On the 4th of March, 1577, Gregory created cardinal Albert of Austria, sixth son of Maximilian II (and of Mary of Austria, daughter of Charles V) and brother of the Emperor Rudolph II. This cardinal, only nineteen years old when promoted, subsequently renounced the purple to marry Isabella, daughter of Philip II, who received as her dowry the provinces of Flanders and Franche-Comté. Albert died without issue, at Brussels, on the 13th of July, 1621.

Good tidings arrived from the East. The condition of the pilgrims was not yet improved, perhaps, at Jerusalem, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Franciscan custos, Father Jeremias of Brescia; but other countries had eagerly welcomed our pious missionaries.

Near the town of Naxivan, on the river Tigris, in Lesser Armenia, twenty-five villages, by the exertions of Friar Bartholomew, a Dominican and Bishop of Armenia, had recognized the Roman Church and long persevered in their obedience. During later wars some schismatic prelates tried to lure the Catholics from their duty, and in some cases succeeded; but the rest, under the direction of a Dominican, Archbishop of Naxivan, continued to recognize the Holy See. This religious, having visited Rome to expose the state of affairs, solicited aid to recover the lost sheep. Gregory granted him a sum of money, letters of protection for the neighboring authorities, and a quantity of vestments.

In the city of Aleppo, and in many other parts of Syria and Mesopotamia, there were a great many houses of Chaldean Jacobites, offshoots of the Eutychian sect. For twenty years they had been governed by the patriarch Nehem, a man of faith and worth, who had already restored several churches. He determined to write letters of submission to Julius III and Pius IV, and he asked an establishment at Rome for his flock.

Shortly afterwards a war broke out in that country, and the Turks seized Nehem and closely confined him in prison, where he unhappily apostatized, in his terror. Resuming his true Catholic feeling, he hoped to obtain his pardon from the Holy Father. Resigning the care of his flock and his title of patriarch to his brother David, and under the pretext of a visit to Constantinople, he repaired to Rome. There he abjured the errors of the false master Dioscorus, and publicly renewed his profession of faith. As Nehem could never return to his own country, the pope allowed him to remain in Rome, lodged him in the palace, and assigned him an annual pension befitting his rank as patriarch.

There also arrived, just then, envoys from the Maronites, who were received with the same friendship.

At that moment the pope received letters of obedience from the Archbishop of Cranganore, metropolitan of Malabar. The Jesuits had decided him to abandon the Nestorian errors and return to the Catholic truth. The reply of the pope was accompanied by precious relics and by sacred presents of every description.

At the same time that he despatched his reply, the pontiff judged it right to encourage, by new favors and by testimonies of tenderness, Father Andrew de Oviedo, of the Society of Jesus, whom Paul IV had sent to the Abyssinians of Ethiopia. The missionary had been appointed patriarch, but his life was daily menaced; he did not, however, ask leave to retire.

Gregory omitted no exertion to establish a league between the kings of Poland, Sweden, and Spain, for the purpose of an expedition into England, to put a stop to the persecutions ordered by Elizabeth. They had become so intolerable as to spread terror through England and Scotland. King Henry III desired to create an order of knighthood in France, the more strongly to attach to the Roman faith the nobles who might receive this honor at the hands of the king. The endowment of the order was to consist of a regular allowance from the royal treasury, and of two hundred thousand crowns to be paid by the French clergy, exempting, however, the incomes of the parish priests. To obtain a confirmation of that institution, the king sent to Rome M. l'Aubépin, and then M. de Lancosme. The pope assembled a congregation of thirteen cardinals, and represented that the terms of the request were offensive to the glory of God, and perverted the employment of the property of the Church. In fact, the clergy, burdened with this new impost, would no longer have the means of fulfilling their duties, relieving the poor and providing for divine worship.

Before receiving this reply, or rather anticipating that the reply would not be favorable, the king inaugurated the institution with great pomp, and called it the order of the Holy Ghost. Properly speaking, it had been instituted at Naples in 1352, by Louis I of Tarento, under the name of the order of "The Holy Ghost—'au droit désir.'" Henry, at the same time, desired to reconstruct the order of Saint Michael, the collar of which had fallen into such disrepute that it was commonly spoken of as "every beast's collar." The king, therefore, ordered that every noble, to be affiliated to his order of the Holy Ghost, must previously belong to that of Saint Michael, which was the case up to 1830.

The Bishop of Geneva was commissioned by the pope to ask and to give explanations, and accord was not disturbed between the pope and the king. The order was not to be granted, and in fact never was, except to nobles who swore unbounded attachment to the Catholic faith.

Here arises a question of great importance. Novaes says:

"By the death of Sebastian, King of Portugal, which occurred in the year 1578, when he was killed fighting against the Moors of Africa, Cardinal Henry, his uncle, succeeded to the throne. The latter was then sixty-seven years of age and in feeble health. Perceiving the danger to the sceptre that would arise, at his death, from the numerous aspirants to the throne, his councillors exhorted him to marry, saying that by that means, if he had any children, the anticipated dangers would be averted, and the authority would remain in Portuguese hands. Henry, yielding, after a long resistance however, to their insistence, felt it necessary to apply to the pope for the necessary dispensation, seeing that he was not only cardinal but also Archbishop of Evora. Gregory studied the case with singular attention, and replied that he could not comply with such a request. It was true that,

under other circumstances, the dispensation had been granted to a monk or priest." There had been an example under Alexander III. "The doge of Venice," says Novaes, "had sent out an expedition against the Saracens, in which all the lords of the illustrious house of Giustiniani perished. The pope, to save the family from extinction, dispensed from his vows and religious profession the Blessed Nicholas Giustiniani, a Benedictine and a priest. He married Anne Vitale, daughter of the doge of Michele, and had five sons and three daughters. Being no longer necessary in the world, having secured the perpetuation of his family, he returned to his monastery and died holily." "But in the present case there were serious circumstances; the applicant was a cardinal and a bishop. It was an absolutely novel case, of which there had been no previous instance in the Church. With this argument and others Gregory endeavored to convince Henry's envoy; and the pope's nuncio, Sauli, made the same representations to the king in person. Then that prince changed his design, and though the commons of his kingdom entreated him to continue his attempts, he remained firm in his refusal."

So, on the one hand, reasons of state were urged in support of this infraction of ecclesiastical law; and, on the other hand, it was said, as though that were an argument, that Henry had long been a priest. In vain did political considerations, with threats, seductions, and powerful intercessions, assail Gregory. Immovable as a rock, that trusty depositary of the faith refused his consent, thorough pontiff that he was. But at the same time, still animated by a spirit of conciliation, he refused without anger. He did not for an instant suppose, this true father even of the insensate, that the petition was serious; and he had the glory to obtain from King Henry a formal withdrawal of it, and the natural

repentance which a wise priest must experience for having been drawn aside by such solicitations.

Gregory, learning that the Greek Basilian monks, spread over many dioceses of Naples and Sicily, did not observe the rule of Saint Basil which they professed, had an Italian translation carefully printed, and copies sent into those provinces for gratuitous distribution. As copies of the Greek Bible were scarce, the pope appointed a congregation, consisting of singularly learned men, who revised the ordinary text which had been so much altered, and restored it so as to conform to the Septuagint. Pius IV and Saint Pius V, in conformity to a decree of the Council of Trent, had also taken steps on this matter; but the glory of terminating so lofty an enterprise was reserved to Sixtus V and Clement VIII.

Gregory now announced his intention to create new cardinals. In this promotion were: (1) Claude de la Baume, of the marquises of Montrevel. Philip II granted him great rewards for having preserved Burgundy from the errors of Calvinism and caused it to accept the Council of Trent. (2) Louis II de Lorraine, of the dukes of Guise, brother to the celebrated Charles de Lorraine, and, like him, uncle of Mary, Queen of Scots, in whose behalf he never ceased to intercede with the pope. (3) René Birago, a noble Milanese, driven from Milan by Francis Sforza, as convicted of being attached to France. He had been employed by Francis I as counsellor to the Parliament of Paris. He then became chancellor and viceroy of Charles IX in the province of Lyons. He died at Paris in 1583, on the 5th of January, surnamed "the hammer of heretics and the defender of the Catholic faith," and with such a reputation for disinterestedness that he died in the greatest poverty. Birago served five kings of France: Francis I, Henry II, Francis II, Charles

IX, and Henry III. He used to say of himself: "I am a cardinal without a title, a priest without a benefice, and chancellor without the seals." (4) Ferdinand of Toledo, a noble Spaniard, of the counts of Oropesa. In his humility he returned the hat to the pope, together with the brief which created him cardinal. He handsomely rewarded the ablegate who brought them to him, and then retired to preach the Gospel in obscurity in Spain.

An ambassador now arrived from the King of Poland, Stephen Bathori, in order to take in the presence of the pope the oath of allegiance in his master's name. Gregory received him in the royal hall, amidst a public consistory. Just before the Pole entered, the ambassador of France demanded that the act of obedience that was about to be confirmed should not in any wise prejudice the rights of the Most Christian King Henry, also King of Poland, pretending that Henry, and no other, was the legitimate king of that country.

For a long time urgent endeavors, at the request of Anselm Dandini, nuncio in France, had been made to have the decrees of the Council of Trent published in that country. The Sorbonne opposed the power of the sovereign pontiff over general councils, and were dissatisfied in regard to the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, a point which had been left undecided by the Council of Trent.

Novaes affirms that, upon the latter point, many of the universities agreed in the same sentiment, and forbade the doubting of the Immaculate Conception. Among those universities were those of Cologne, Mainz, Vienna, Valencia, Salamanca, Alcala, Louvain, Barcelona, Evora, and Coimbra. They raised no one to the grade of doctor unless he swore to defend the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, until that point should be decided by the Church. A

host of theologians then maintained that Rome could not and would not disapprove that point of doctrine.

Baius continued to circulate his errors, already condemned by Pope Pius V. Gregory, learning that renewed insult, even from the letters of the King of Spain, solemnly published the bull of his predecessor, which he inserted in another newly proposed in consistory, and by which he confirmed the former.

These errors continued their ravages in the Low Countries. The pope therefore sent thither the Jesuit Francis Toledo, a celebrated theologian and his ordinary preacher in the apostolical palace. Toledo employed gentle means to induce Baius completely to abjure errors that had been twice proscribed; and on the 24th of March, 1580, Baius consented to sign a formal retractation. Toledo returned to Rome, where he afterwards received the cardinal's hat from the hands of Clement VIII. Few obtain so much glory as this modest religious. Gregory, in 1584, addressed to him a brief in which he appointed him censor of his own writings. The same confidence was subsequently reposed in him by Sixtus V, Urban VII, Gregory XIV, and Innocent IX.

The abjuration of Baius caused great joy in Rome. Gregory, the most generous of princes, who only sought opportunities to show the greatness of his benevolence, sent a considerable present to the University of Louvain, which the ravages of war had ruined. Unfortunately, the ungrateful Baius renewed his attacks, maintaining that he had thoroughly read the bulls of the pontiffs, and that they only enjoined upon him a "respectful silence." Such, however, had not been the intention of Saint Pius V and Gregory XIII. They specified the propositions on which descended direct and absolute condemnation.

The provinces of Styria and Carinthia complained of the

continual attacks made by the Protestant system. The Archduke Charles, though a prince of exemplary virtue, and though devoted to the Holy See, and the friend and protector of religious, and himself strongly attached to the dogmas in which he had been reared, showed himself, as it were, vanquished by the importunities of the Protestant party. Subsequently, deceived and betrayed by his favorites and by his own servants, he gradually lost authority from fear of a greater evil, and was falling into complete contempt with his subjects, the princes, and his vassals. In a short time the Archduke Ferdinand, and Albert of Bavaria, whose daughter Charles had married, resolved to ask pardon of the pope for the concessions wrung from the weakness of Charles, to the prejudice of the divine honor. Then that prince begged the pope to accredit a nuncio to inquire into the state of embarrassment of his affairs, and to restore the government to the right way. Gregory sent Germanicus Malatesta, who so successfully acted in the diet assembled at Gratz that the cause of religion triumphed. After the disputes, misunderstandings, and accusations, such as always occur in difficulties of the kind, the archduke published an edict which banished from that country the enemies of the Roman faith and the apostolic traditions.

It was nearly four centuries since certain Greek nuns, flying from persecution in the East, had brought with them the bones of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus.

Born in the city of Nazianzus, in Cappadocia, Saint Gregory went to Athens with Saint Basil, after having studied at Cæsarea, in Palestine, and at Alexandria. Both of them had declined the favor of Julian the Apostate, who, on the report of their merits, wished to attract them to his court, and reminded them that he had known them at Athens.

Saint Gregory was successively bishop of a small city

called Sasima, then of the Church of Nazianzus, and then of Constantinople. There, tormented by the Arians, he resigned his dignity, and, after many painful vicissitudes, retired into solitude, where he died in 389.

No one can read the writings of this Father without admitting that he has gained the prize of eloquence over all the orators of his century, for the purity of his terms, the nobleness of his expressions, the elegance of his style, the variety of his figures, the strength of his argument, and the loftiness of his ideas. He is, with all his elevation of thought, natural, flowery, and pleasing. His periods are full and well sustained to the end, evincing an exquisite and cultivated taste. His poetry was almost exclusively the fruit of his solitude and his old age, yet it has the fire and vigor of a young poet.

It was upon that illustrious Father that Gregory XIII endeavored to fix the attention of the Romans. The bones of the saint reposed obscurely in the church of the nuns of Campo Marzo. The pope determined that they should be removed to the Vatican. The ceremony took place on the 11th of June, 1580. That it might be a public feast, Gregory published a plenary indulgence, and released from prison those guilty of only slight offences, such as disputes and wordy quarrels without bloodshed. He lowered the price of bread. He had all the streets through which the sacred relics passed adorned; and over a space of more than two miles, carpets, hangings, pictures, images, and holy paintings were arranged. At intervals the various resting-places for the procession were ornamented with flowers and redolent of perfumes. The canons of Saint Peter carried the shrine containing the bones. The pope, accompanied by the Sacred College and prelates, went before the procession to the end of the stairs. There he quitted the sedia gestatoria,

laid down the mitre, and knelt; then, lifting up his eyes, bathed in tears, he kissed the shrine, and followed it to the chapel called the Gregorian, in which it was to be placed. This chapel, finished by Jacopo della Porta, after the designs of Michelangelo, is one of the most beautiful in the Church of Saint Peter. The dome is fifty-six feet in diameter and a hundred and twenty-seven feet in height, exclusive of the cupola, which is seventeen feet high. The mosaics which adorn it represent the attributes of the Virgin; and the four doctors below were done from the originals of Muziani and Nicholas de Piccola. The picture of the Virgin above the altar is a work of the time of Pascal II (twelfth century). It is called the Madonna del Soccorso, and in the old basilica was venerated in the oratory of Saint Leo I. The body of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, excepting an arm left with the nuns of Campo Marzo, reposes under the altar of the Gregorian Chapel.

Gregory had not renounced a desire, evinced from the commencement of his pontificate, to destroy or weaken the Mussulman power. But an unforeseen point intervened: Philip II, King of Spain, granted Amurath an additional truce for three years. This had been concealed from the pontiff, to whom it now became a subject of deep grief, more especially as the moment was an apposite one to wrest advantages from the Turks, then pressed by the sovereign of Persia. From the Persians Europe had nothing to fear, unless, indeed, they should produce one of those emperors who astonish the world; but the Turks, and especially those of Africa, daily threatened Italy, France, and Spain.

Philip's ministers still further embittered a debate which was sufficiently painful in itself. They endeavored to deny the fact from time to time, and then, when they were told of the rejoicings at Constantinople, about which the Franciscan

missionaries there filled their correspondence, the Spanish ministers went so far as to maintain that they had signed the treaty without King Philip's knowledge. The answer was that Spain held no councillors daring enough to sign a truce of that importance without the knowledge of such a sovereign as Philip II. The name, the reputation, the authority of him whom they dared to represent as a man of such small consideration in the cabinet of Aranjuez, at once branded that cabinet with disgraceful falsehood, and proved that it had not been capable of so foolhardy an act.

Meantime the King of Spain levied immense contributions upon the clergy of the country, granted solely for a case of war. Gregory suspended the execution of the bull that authorized the impost. It was evident that, even supposing that a king who had deceived so many other kings had himself been deceived, it was impossible to deceive Gregory. He knew his rights and the value of his promises, as well as the scope and bearing of his concessions, and he considered himself the indefatigable protector of the clergy of the Peninsula and the Indies; for the impost was levied also in the most distant quarters of the Spanish dominions.

It seemed thenceforth that affairs so violent as to be calculated to produce scandals and even intestine wars were reserved for the reign of Gregory. But the genius of that great pope was equal to everything. Suddenly there broke out, in the island of Malta, a revolt against the grand master, Brother John l'Evesque de la Cassière, marshal of the order at the time of the death of the grand master De Monte, successor of the immortal La Valette. La Cassière, of the language of Auvergne, was elected in 1572, that year of sad memory. His administration was at first disturbed in various ways by accusations of abuse in the distribution of priories. But no knight had yet ventured upon reprehen-

sible excesses. It is related that when, in 1577, Amurath III had shown to Buongianni Gianfigliazzi, ambassador of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a plan of the city of Valetta, and had asked him if it was correct, and if the place was as strongly fortified as it there appeared to be, the ambassador replied: "Sire, he who drew that plan forgot one of the main defences, the courage and firmness of more than a thousand knights, ready to shed their blood in defence of that place."

But this state of things did not long continue, and horrible discords soon appeared. They were almost similar to those which in 1798 distinguished the last moments of an order so illustrious—discords that made Napoleon master of the island. La Cassière had excited the anger of some lax knights for three reasons: he forbade the knights of the different languages from speaking with partiality in favor of the nations and sovereigns to which they belonged.

That prohibition especially irritated the Spaniards, reared from the time of Charles V beneath the shadow of the formidable power of the house of Austria, and desirous that the whole order should bow beneath that power—that is to say, beneath that of the Spaniards then present in the island.

The second cause was that the grand master, by a public ban, had driven from the suburbs and city of Valetta dissolute women, and forced them to leave the island and retire to the islands of Gozo and Cumino, at a distance from the houses of the order.

The third cause was the ambition of some of the grand crosses, who aspired to the magistracy, and who, seeing that the grand master, though aged, enjoyed vigorous health, feared that they might not survive him, and therefore sought to force him to abdicate his dignity.

In Malta, as elsewhere, the massacre of Saint Bartholomew had sowed germs of hatred, if not of contempt, for

France. Among the Parisian French, one party had assassinated the other. Some of them were ignoble murderers; the others had been worse than imprudent, foreseeing nothing, and making no preparations for self-defence. The French Knights of Malta were not less animated; they perhaps said that they would have been generous, but on the whole they seemed neither to praise the crime nor to pity the victims. One might have thought them of another nation, and therefore entitled thus to play the indifferent on that exciting topic, on which the conversation of the auberges, or places of meeting, was so often to turn; and for that reason, and others which we have given, the island was in a frightful state of agitation. Representatives of Castile and Portugal (some add Aragon and Germany), and many knights representing the three languages of France, headed by Mathurin de l'Escur and Romégas, assembled with much outcry and menace, exclaiming that the grand master, by his various orders, politic and religious as they were, had sufficiently proved that his mind was impaired, and that he paid more attention to the Maltese women than to the enterprises of the Turks and the Barbary pirates. To the accusations it was added that the sovereign had not replenished the granaries of Malta; that at all the councils he slumbered, and never seemed to be fully awake excepting to vex his knights. They then sent a deputation to the grand master to call upon him to resign a government for which he was incapacitated, and to name a lieutenant. Upon his refusal, the council of the malcontents assembled at the quarters of Brother Crescini, prior of the church, the principal mover of the sedition, and Romégas, prior of Toulouse and Ireland, was named lieutenant. The Spanish knights, in order to interest the languages of France, preferred him to others of the conspirators of their nation. Such was the

result of that seditious assemblage. It tended to suspend the legitimate authority of a grand master venerable alike for his wisdom, his piety, and his courage; who, moreover, had preserved all his powers of intelligence, action, and sagacity, as all were compelled to admit who were not prejudiced against him by envy or ambition. Romégas was brave, in truth, and till then successful in his career; but he was reproached with cruelty towards his enemies, and more of a pitiless Turk than generous Christian knight in his cruises.

The heads of this sedition, seeing La Cassière meet their attacks with intrepidity, at the head of their accomplices burst into the apartment of the grand master, placed him in an uncovered sedan, and carried him off under a guard of soldiers to the common prison, known as the Castle of Sant' Angelo. It is painful to add that, on his way from the city of Valetta to the dungeon, the unfortunate captive experienced the insults of young knights and prostitutes, who, though formally expelled from the city, had contrived to return.

Dreading the vengeance and power of Gregory XIII, the insurgents sent three ambassadors: Sacquenville, a Frenchman; Cosmas de Luna, a Spaniard; and Bernardo Capece, an Italian. The grand master, although closely confined, found means to send four ambassadors: Blot-Viviers, Pierre Roux de Beauvais, Brother Dom Francis de Gusman, and Brother Angelo Pellegrini.

Two days later, Chabrillan, general of the galleys, whom La Cassière had sent to unfurl before the foe the terrible and illustrious banner of the order, sailed into the port of Malta with the knights at his command. No sooner had he landed than he demanded audience of the grand master. The rebels durst not refuse. The faithful brother of Saint John

of Jerusalem hastened to the Castle of Sant' Angelo, kissed the hands of his sovereign, and offered to restore him to his authority and lead him back to his palace at the head of two thousand men, the force on his galleys, and the knights and worthy men of the island who detested the crime of the rebels. "What!" exclaimed Chabrillan, "have the Turks then come hither in the garb of knights?" But La Cassière, who would have been forced to punish, replied with wisdom, evincing how well he deserved to retain the sovereignty: "I await my restoration from the energetic authority of Gregory XIII, the supreme superior of the order. I would rather end my days in prison than see my knights, whom I have ever regarded as my children, battling on my account against each other."

Gregory, hearing of the arrival of the ambassadors of legitimacy and rebellion, ordered galleys to be equipped in haste, under the command of Gaspar Visconti, auditor of the Rota, with others, to go to Malta and instantly to set at liberty the grand master, and convey both him and Romégas to Rome. La Cassière appeared in the capital of the Christian world with eight hundred knights, and traversed the city in triumph. The papal court and the households of the cardinals, the ambassadors, and the princes had met him at a considerable distance on the road to Civita Vecchia. The pope received the grand master with the greatest marks of esteem, pitied and consoled him. Romégas solicited an audience, but the pope refused to admit him. The chastisement of the rebels had begun. Romégas was counselled to abdicate the title of Lieutenant of the Mastery. On receiving this order, Romégas fainted, and soon after died of fever. When Commander de Sacquenville approached the grand master with an indifferent air, merely asking his hand to kiss, a cardinal cried out: "Down, rebel knight, on your

knees! But for your good-hearted grand master your head would have rolled days ago on the square Navona!" The bold speaker was Cardinal Montalto, afterwards Sixtus V. He did not then affect all that courtesy ascribed to him by those who accuse him of hypocrisy.

Meantime Cardinal d'Este, protector of the crown of France, entertained La Cassière in his palace, treating him and his knights with a royal magnificence. At Malta all had returned to order. La Cassière was about to return, but the excitement had been too much for the almost octogenarian prince, and he died at Rome, after a residence of three months.

On the late grand master's tomb an inscription, from the hand of Anthony Muretus, attested that the integrity of the grand master shone the more brightly when attacked by calumny, as gold is purified by fire. The inscription adds that La Cassière was seventy-eight years old, and that he died at Rome on the 21st of December, 1581.

This sudden death impelled the pope to take measures to have the highest honors paid to the memory of the deceased; and to save the order from similar disorders, he issued a bull.

The death of La Cassière at Rome caused the whole order to fear that the pope, as supreme superior, would name a grand master. This led to an embassy, and a celebrated deputation sent by the convent of Malta to Gregory XIII. He caused the registers of his predecessors to be consulted, especially those of Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII; and having formed in his own mind a plan founded on right and calculated to restore peace, he dismissed the ambassadors with the assurance that he would shortly send a brief to Visconti to enable the knights to proceed to an election. And, in fact, on the 12th of January, 1582, the

chapter being assembled and the sixteen electors chosen, the nuncio of His Holiness presented them with a brief recommending them to confine their choice to three candidates whom the pope proposed: Verdale, knight of the language of Provence, and grand commander; Panisse, grand prior of Saint Giles; and Chabrillan, magistrate of Manosca, that type of noble fidelity. Verdale, who had long been ambassador of the order at Rome, and who was a favorite with Gregory and all his court, found the chapter equally well disposed towards him. He was chosen and proclaimed grand master; and the pope, happy to have restored peace among these generous defenders of Christianity, ratified the election and advised Verdale to conciliation, showing himself, by turns, as circumstances required, gracefully benevolent or justly stern. By the terms of the bull of the 3d of September, the pope took from the knights all their pretended power, in certain cases, to proceed against the person of their superior, as they had lately done and had previously done in the reign of John XXII. By this constitution Gregory declared that in future the pope alone was to decide upon the conduct of the grand master. A general pardon was granted to all who had been guilty, weak, or indirectly compromised.

Fortunately, during all these discords, Amurath, either ill informed or lacking means, did not renew his attacks upon the island of Malta.

A new opportunity was presented to Gregory to show his constancy and zeal for reform. By the pope's order, Italy had adopted various disciplinary measures for restoring order and good faith in its government. A system of visitation was needed to receive just complaints and restrict excesses of power.

The nuncio Bolognetti was sent to the Venetians on a

subject of great difficulty. The pontifical envoy, acting cautiously, associated with him two citizens of the republic, Augustin Valerio, Bishop of Verona, and Frederic Cornaro, Bishop of Padua, both subsequently cardinals. The republic took alarm, and the doge went so far as to say, in full senate, that thenceforth, separated from the Latins, the Venetians would go over to the Greek Church, and would receive the sacraments only from its ministers. Undismayed by such childish threats, Gregory, by courier, ordered the nuncio immediately to commence the projected visitation. The senators, thus placed between a schism and its ravages on the one hand, and on the other a reasonable requirement of the court of Rome, foreseeing, too, the advantage which the Lutherans would derive from such a perilous separation, no longer indulged in threats they never meant to carry out, and passed a decree authorizing the visitation. The Patriarch of Venice naturally was favorable to the decrees of Rome; and Venice herself was glad to see abuses remedied from which she had never derived any benefit. The affair ended to the advantage of divine worship and to the great glory of the pontiff.

Gregory's project in regard to Sweden had not completely succeeded. Another light, says Novaes, arose in a part almost as northern.

John Basil, Duke of Muscovy, had wrested Livonia from the Poles. Stephen Bathori, avenger of his country's honor, marched with a great army against Basil, who immediately applied to the Holy Father, and begged him to send a nuncio to Moscow to restore peace between Poland and Muscovy.

The Holy Father easily saw through the views of the schismatic princes, grounded only on temporal interests. Nevertheless, he deemed it his duty to give the attention of a

pastor to that delicate affair. He said: "We must sometimes seek the strayed sheep without waiting until they voluntarily return to the fold." The Jesuit Anthony Possevin, who had returned from Sweden with three of his companions, was sent to Moscow. Considerable sums were given to him on his departure, with presents for the Grand Duke John and Anastasia his wife. Possevin was also to present a faithful copy of the operations of the Council of Trent in relation to the union of the two churches. Peace was to be concluded, although the details were difficult, as each prince had usurped from the other. The Muscovite restored what he had seized in Lithuania, and the Pole restored what he had intended to keep in Muscovy. The moment the Lithuanian cities were restored, Possevin, in the name of the Holy Father, introduced Catholic bishops there.

Gregory, whose zeal extended to everything demanding the supervision of the Pontifical States, would not neglect to insist upon the restitution of fiefs belonging to the Holy See, and of investitures that had lapsed. Honorius Savelli had received one, from the beneficence of the popes, and, his lineage being extinct, the apostolical chamber resumed the estates. The Paduans neglecting to pay the dues on an old contract, Piedulugo was reclaimed and placed under the authority of the chamber. Other possessions in the Romagna reverted; and some even as far as Cisterna, in Piedmont.

In fine, it seems that Providence had reserved to Gregory the glory of correcting, with the utmost possible perfection, the calendar used by the Church. The year is the time the earth requires for one entire revolution in its orbit. During this time the sun appears to us to traverse the whole ecliptic, or the twelve signs of the zodiac.

The ancients did not at first measure time exactly. The Egyptians considered it as only three hundred and sixty-five days. Yet the earth, in an entire revolution in its orbit, makes three hundred and sixty-five revolutions on its axis, and about a fourth of another. Hence it is evident that the equinoxes recede every four years nearly a day. To remedy this inconvenience, it was proposed to make in every four years a year comprising one day more than the others; so that in that year there are three hundred and sixty-six days. This year is called bissextile, because among the Romans that day was the sixth before the calends of March; and in English is styled leap-year. This reformation is called Julian, because made by Julius Cæsar. The Roman calendar was formed originally by Romulus, and rearranged by Numa Pompilius. Sosigenes, a celebrated mathematician of Alexandria, developed the advantages of its reform, and styled the new calendar the Julian reformation. The Julian year commenced forty-five years before the birth of our Saviour. Some changes were made by the Council of Nice, in the year 325. The councils of Constance in 1414, of Bâle in 1439, and of Lateran in 1516, discussed that question. Pope Nicholas V was not insensible of its importance; and thirty years later Sixtus IV employed the mathematician Regiomontanus—John Müller—upon it. The Council of Trent finally referred the whole matter to the supreme pontiff.

Under Julius Cæsar the end was approached, but not exactly reached; for, in order to the total avoidance of error, it would require the time employed by the earth in traversing its orbit to be exactly three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, but about eleven minutes were wanting to perfect exactness, and this quantity, though very small in itself, became, in the course of centuries, so considerable that the equinoxes by the end of the sixteenth cen-

tury had advanced ten days. The eleven minutes (or thereabouts) neglected by Cæsar, and not observed by the Council of Nice, formed, after a hundred and thirty-three years, a day of twenty-four hours. In four centuries this amounted to three days.

From the time of the Nicean correction in 325 to the tenth year of the pontificate of Gregory in 1582, there had been a lapse of one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven years, or nearly ten times the number one hundred and thirty-three; it immediately follows that the vernal equinox, which, in the time of the Council of Nice, fell between the 20th and 21st of March, advanced by ten days and fell between the 10th and the 11th of the same month. This led to the confusion in regard to Easter, which, by order of the Council of Nice, should be celebrated on the Sunday following the fourteenth moon, falling in the vernal equinox, between the 20th and 21st of March.

To put an end to this disorder, which had already engaged the attention of many able men, Gregory assembled at Rome the most celebrated mathematicians, among whom were Cardinal Sirlet; Ignatius Neemel, patriarch of the Syrians; Peter Chacon, a priest, called the Spanish Varro; Ignatius Danti, a Dominican of Perugia; Anthony Lilio, a Calabrian physician; Vincent Lauri, a Neapolitan, afterwards cardinal; Christopher Clavius, a German Jesuit, called the Euclid of his time; and James Mazzoni, a renowned literary man of Cesena.

Louis Lilio, a Calabrian and a famous mathematician, after a toil of ten years, had prepared a plan for the correction of the solar year, but, dying, left his labor to his brother Anthony. This explains why part of the glory is ascribed to Louis; but he did not enjoy it during his life, and it was his brother Anthony who was present at the deliberations.

Be that as it may, Anthony Lilio presented the memoir of Louis to Pope Gregory XIII, soliciting the privilege of printing it as a reward for the vigils and innumerable calculations of his brother. The pope, always wise, always circumspect, always provident, worthy successor of so many great men who had often restored peace by reconciling the interests of the princes with those of the peoples of the earth, determined that the earth also should have a spirit of order in its relations with the firmament. He sent the printed book to all the sovereigns of Europe, requesting them to have it examined by the most eminent mathematicians in their realms. All, or almost all, applauded that work so strongly reasoned and demonstrated, praised the calculations of Louis Lilio, and eagerly accepted them.

To cause this correction to be adopted, Gregory then published a constitution, which commences thus, "Inter Gravissimas," and which is dated from Frascati, 24th February, 1582.

In this bull the pope ordered that, dating from the 5th of October, inclusive, in the same year, ten days should be suppressed; so that what would have been the 6th of October would be the 15th of that month, which would re-establish order for the time past.

In order to provide also for the eleven minutes which Sosigenes and the Council of Nice had neglected, and which in the future would cause that variation of the equinoxes of which we have already spoken, the Holy Father ordered that from the year 1700 to the year 2000 one bissextile year should be omitted in every century. Thus, the year 1600 would be bissextile, but the years 1700, 1800, and 1900 would not. This imposing manner of providing laws for the centuries to come well befits him to whom Jesus Christ commits the care of a Church which is not to perish.

We have obeyed the learned men assembled by Gregory XIII; the years 1700, 1800, and 1900 were not bissextiles.

The reformation of the calendar was adopted in France in the same year in which that bull was published, and also, a little while after, by the other Catholic States. The English, and some Protestants, in their hatred of the Roman court, continued to use the old Julian calendar, "as if," remarks Bossuet, "a reasonable man should not receive reason, come whence it may." But they were obliged to adopt two computations, and to date according to both the old and the new style. The Marquis of Brandenburg, whose letters we have before us as we write, wrote to Louis XIII in 1622, and he used both styles. England at length adopted the new style in 1752, Sweden in 1753, and the German Protestants in 1777. At present only Russia adopts the old style, although Easter is celebrated there on the same day as with us. It results from the labor analyzed above that Easter was on the same day in 1583 as at the Council of Nice.

Universal applause was accorded to the sovereign pontiff when he conceived the idea of adding to the correction of the year another important work, the essentially pontifical one of correcting the Roman Martyrology.

The negligence of copyists, in the first place, and then that of the printers, had rendered the Martyrology both defective and incorrect.

Learned and pious scholars purged it from errors, augmented it in some parts, thanks to the intervention of many bishops, and everywhere subjected it to the fidelity of history.

In that same year, 1582, sterility threw Rome into despair. The populace suffered, and, for a moment, asked what Gregory was doing; but speedily considerable sums were drawn from the treasury, and breadstuffs arrived from Marseilles, often the granary of Rome.

On the 10th of December of the same year, Gregory raised to the rank of an archbishopric the Church of Bologna, his native place, whose first bishop had been Saint Zama. Nine of the successors of that saint had been canonized. The pope appointed as suffragans the churches of Parma, Piacenza, Reggio, Modena, Imola, Servia, and Crema. The Bolognese, in their joy, raised a bronze statue to the pope their benefactor.

At this period the pope secretly sent to Mary, Queen of Scots, a consecrated host with which that princess was to communicate if Elizabeth condemned Mary to death.

On the 2d of December, 1583, Gregory made his seventh promotion of cardinals. Among the nineteen then created, four became pontiffs: Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, made pope in 1591, under the name of Innocent IX; Giovanni Battista Castagna, afterward pope under the name of Urban VII; Alessandro de' Medici, pontiff in 1605, under the name of Leo XI; Nicolo Sfondrati, pope in 1590, under the name of Gregory XIV.

We have now reached the close of Gregory's reign. We have yet to add, however, that before he died he experienced one of those pontifical joys he so well deserved.

In 1549 the Jesuit Saint Francis Xavier had proclaimed gospel truth to the empire of Japan, where missionaries of his order continued to instruct the people, among whom, in thirty years, two hundred thousand had become Christians. Among these Christians three kings distinguished themselves by their Catholic faith—the kings of Bungo, Arima, and Omura. These determined to render obedience to the reigning pope, and they sent four ambassadors to him, young princes of the blood royal, scarcely fifteen years of age, but already possessed of the qualities of more mature age. They sailed from Nagasaki, on board a Portuguese ship, on the

22d of February, 1582, and after a voyage of three years arrived in Rome. The capital of the world had never received an embassy from a more distant country.

The Emperor Augustus had received envoys from India, but those from Japan came from a more eastern point. On the 23d of March, 1585, an immense cavalcade escorted them to the Vatican. On being admitted into public consistory, they kissed the feet of the pope, and presented him with the letters of their respective sovereigns. Gregory had the letters read aloud, and then he repeatedly embraced the four ambassadors.

The pope did not long survive this great glory. Oppressed by the weight of eighty-three years, he yet, against the advice of his physicians, insisted upon rigidly observing Lent and on enduring all the fatigues of his government. But on the 5th of April he was attacked by fever, and the tonsils swelled so as to impede respiration. The physicians again counselled rest. Nevertheless he persisted in his lenten diet and in paying the same attention to his wearing duties. Then the disorder became more and more violent, and he expired on the 10th of April, 1585, after filling the Holy See twelve years, ten months, and eighteen days.

He was interred in the Gregorian Chapel of the Vatican, where a noble tomb was erected in 1723 by Camillus Rusconi, at the order of Cardinal James Buoncompagni, his grandnephew. The virtues of this pope were lauded in an eloquent discourse by Father Stephen Tucci, of the Society of Jesus.

On account of the Easter holidays, the ceremonies of novendiali lasted only five days, instead of the customary nine indicated by the name.

The eminent virtues of this pope, one of the most illustrious that have occupied the Holy See, which would have procured him the surname of great had not Saint Greg-

ory previously received it, excited the admiration of the Roman people as one of the finest models of sovereign greatness.

Gregory was somewhat above the middle stature. He had blue eyes, an aquiline nose, thick beard, and his habit and bearing were such as to attract veneration and give him an air at once mild and majestic.

He was patient in audiences, but his resolutions were generally prompt, as he quickly saw the course to pursue.

In the first eight years of his pontificate his personal expenses did not exceed three hundred ducats a year. He wore, in preference, clothes already worn by his predecessors; and he even had clothes capable of being repaired purchased from the heirs of deceased prelates. But this personal self-denial concealed a passion for magnificence in his treatment of all but himself. In public ceremonies he displayed unusual prodigality. We have mentioned what he ordered at the translation of the relics of Saint Gregory of Nazianzen. On subsequently recapitulating his gifts to Christian princes and peoples, his accounts showed that he had sent a hundred thousand gold crowns to the Emperor Maximilian, a hundred thousand to the Archduke of Austria, three hundred thousand to the King of France, two hundred thousand to Ernest of Bavaria, to say nothing of the sums sent to Basil, Duke of Russia. Vittorelli enumerates the liberalities of Gregory. One cannot conceive, far less describe, the pleasure with which this pope, wearing threadbare and perhaps soiled habits, scattered gold abroad to mitigate the miseries of the times. The liberality of this pope had no limits. Greeks, Cypriotes, Germans, Irish, English, Scotch (in these three points Gregory was another Saint Pius V), Poles, Muscovites, Indians, Japanese, Armenians, Maronites, Spaniards, Hungarians, Illyrians, Bohemians, Moravians, Lithua-

nians, Transylvanians, Saxons, Burgundians, Swiss, French, Italians, the poor of Jerusalem, all Christendom, the learned and the ignorant, the noble and the plebeian, virgins, married women and widows, orphans, the pious places, and religious communities and private families received their portion of that treasury of liberality which may truly be called Gregorian. Gregory never allowed his dinner to cost over half a dollar. If, abusing this, his servants brought him scarcely enough to eat, he would smilingly say that they could evidently economize even on his half-dollar. "Moreover," he added, "sobriety, whether intended or not, is always a great virtue, and most seasonable at our age." Like Louis XIV and Colbert, he had a list of literary men of all countries whom he assisted, to the number of forty-seven, and he would never receive replies of thanks.

Gregory XIII, an administrator probably unequalled, would never impose new taxes. He levied only those which had been imposed before his pontificate; and he even suppressed some very heavy burdens. And yet, after throwing to the children of Christ that salutary manna that we cannot sufficiently characterize, he left a treasure of seven hundred thousand crowns, and not a trace of debt due by the State; and yet he had built fountains on the squares of Navona, the Pantheon, and Del Popolo. He had also fortified Ancona, and to him Rome owes the bridge upon the Paglia, called the Ponte Centino, near Acquapendente. He conferred many favors upon Civita Vecchia, where he passed his autumns. Pope Pius IV began to fortify the part of Rome called the Borgo, in which are the church and palace of Saint Peter, where the popes reside, and the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Gregory XIII continued this design at a great expense.

No censurable exaction brought all this money into the Roman treasury, of which he made such noble uses. All

these resources were due to a wise direction of the finances, and a vigilant watch over the datary, for it is known that the penitentiary received no reward. The revenues of Rome were able to meet all this munificence, and that noble mother of so many sons scattered upon the earth returned by this care of her children more than she received from their piety and from their desire to propagate the glory of that capital of the Christian world. However, we will give the secret to all governments that are inclined to be prudent and generous. By the aid of the first savings a treasury was commenced. That treasury at the fitting time was opened, and munificently lavished gold, which, subsequently, alms, gratitude, and the natural movement of a well-administered State in a time of abundance promptly restored to the public chest, leaving it only on fitting occasion to bring blessings upon the sovereign and to secure the happiness of the people, who were generally happy under the pontificate of Gregory.

Yet all must be said; with so much praise some censure must be mingled. That innate kindliness, that angelic charity by which Gregory was distinguished, frequently held his hand when he ought to have chastised the brigands who infested the peninsula. Hiding themselves in various principalities, they seemed to have taken Rome to be their privileged residence. Gregory did not punish these miscreants with sufficient severity. This glory, and it was no trifling one, was reserved to Sixtus V. History accused that pope of undue severity; hence the necessity of adding here that Gregory was too merciful.

It must be admitted that if the strong will of Sixtus V relative to the police and public tranquillity, a self-will somewhat exaggerated, had existed in Gregory XIII, he would not at the same time have displayed those sweet, those peace-

able, those angelic virtues that in some sort complete piety, which render this reign one of the most brilliant, most affecting, and most admirable of the Roman pontificate.

The Holy See was vacant thirteen days.

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SIXTUS V—A.D. 1585

SIXTUS V (Felice Peretti) was born December 15, 1521, at Grotte à Mare, in the diocese of Fermo, in the Marches. It was a place almost deserted, to which the Peretti family had retired after quitting Montalto, in order, as it is said, to avoid prosecution for debt. The common opinion is that Peretto de' Peretti, Felice's father, was a peasant of Montalto. Two authors, Galli and Tempesti, rejecting this opinion, say that Peretto was of noble family; but we know what value to place on genealogies got up after a man's rise to greatness.

At the age of seven Felice was permitted to study in the Augustinian convent of Grotte à Mare, and at ten he took the Franciscan habit in the convent of that order at Montalto, and continued to study with exemplary zeal.

In 1538 he was sent to Pesaro for his course of philosophy; in 1539 he was sent to the convent of Jési; in 1540, after remaining at Rolla Contrada, he went to Ferrara, and thence, in 1543, to Bologna as professor. A year after, he taught canon law in the convent of Rimini. He fulfilled the same functions at Sienna. In 1547 he received the priesthood, and became doctor on the 26th of July, 1548.

SIXTUS V.

Named regent at Sienna, he was appointed to maintain the public theses, and then taught successively at Naples and Venice, often preaching in both those cities. He was subsequently appointed theologian to Cardinal Ridolfo Pio. Then Pope Pius IV made him the theologian of the General Council of Trent, and councillor of the Holy Office, an office then for the first time conferred upon a Franciscan. At forty years of age he was procurator-general of his order. In 1565 he became theologian of Cardinal Buoncompagni, legate in Spain. In 1566 Felice was elected vicar-general of the Conventuals. Pius V, on the 17th day of May, 1570, named him cardinal. The works of Saint Ambrose, badly printed, needed revising. Cardinal Montalto successfully undertook this great work, and continued to devote his time to it after he became pontiff.

After the funeral of Pope Gregory XIII, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was chanted. Muretus delivered the sermon for the election of the new pope, and on the 21st of April, 1585, forty-two cardinals entered into conclave. In that number were included many papabili, cardinals worthy of the papacy.

Among the cardinals created by Paul III, Farnese and Savelli were most distinguished; among those of Pius IV, Sirlet, Paleotto, Saint George, and Santa Croce; among those of Pius V, Montalto, Cesi, and San Severina; among those of Gregory XIII, Torres, Mondovi, Santi Quattro, and Castagna. After various unsuccessful attempts, Cardinal Torres was taken up, and he was so beloved by the Sacred College that, had he been present, there is little doubt but that he would have been elected. At all events, some electors showed a desire to present his name again, but several eminent personages proposed Cardinal Montalto. The project was successful; forty-one cardinals named him pope by

acclamation, on Wednesday, the 24th of April, 1585. This time again the mode of adoration was followed, without secret ballot. To please Cardinal San Sisto, and to honor the memory of Sixtus IV, also a Conventual, and, like himself, risen from a low degree, Montalto took the name of Sixtus V. This pope remarked that Wednesday had always been an auspicious day for him: on Wednesday he took the habit, and on Wednesday he was created general of his order, cardinal, and pope; he was also crowned on a Wednesday.

When he went to take possession of Saint John Lateran, the bridle of his horse was held by one of the Japanese ambassadors then at Rome.

To show his gratitude to the Buoncompagni who had earnestly and faithfully supported him in the conclave, Sixtus confirmed James Buoncompagni in the post of general of the Church.

When the pope was asked to throw money to the people, he replied: "But that causes accidents; the strongest and not the neediest get money thus scrambled for." He caused proper sums to be distributed in the houses of the poor and in hospitals. It was proposed to him to give a banquet to the cardinals. He replied: "We should not like a repetition of the pasquinade addressed to Octavius Augustus, who, during a scarcity, gave a banquet to the Roman senators. A pressing scarcity exists in our city to-day, and the people must have no reason to complain of our want of natural respect in their misery."

Venetian ambassadors having come to compliment the pope, he granted the republic various privileges; among others, that of applying the third part of the income of ecclesiastical benefices towards the expenses of the Turkish war.

Sixtus first introduced the custom of publishing a jubilee at the commencement of a pontificate, to obtain from God a

successful and wholesome government of the Christian republic.

The Japanese ambassadors, who had taken the oath of obedience in the name of their sovereigns, were about to return home. Sixtus celebrated Mass privately before them, gave them communion, created them Knights of the Golden Spur, enrolled them among the patricians of Rome, admitted them to his table at the city of Montalto, and gave them presents for their monarchs, gave three thousand crowns to each of the young princes, and inspired them with so much love for the Holy See that on their arrival at home they took the habit of the order and labored courageously in the vineyard of the Lord, which the Emperor of Japan, Taicosama, had begun to persecute. This Golden Spur was an order then held in honor. The number of the knights having been too freely multiplied, it lost its lustre. Gregory XVI restored it by giving it its old name, the order of Saint Sylvester.

Italy was full of thieves and brigands. Malefactors of every description odiously afflicted the peninsula. After committing a crime in one principality, they fled, as in the time of Gregory XIII, into another. Sixtus confirmed the constitutions of his predecessors against all criminals, and especially the laws of Gregory XIII against hired assassins, bandits, and incendiaries. In one year from the date of the commencement of severe proceedings, Italy was purged of that abominable horde of miscreants.

The name of Sixtus V at last inspired a wholesome terror.

Other cares employed the mind of Sixtus V. He created a commission of three cardinals, charged to watch over the interests of wards, young maidens, and all who had to complain of infractions of the laws.

The cardinal commissioners were to render to the pope an exact account of their operations.

Time and the barbarians had destroyed the numerous aqueducts for supplying Rome with water from the surrounding mountains. Those prodigious works of the republic and of the Cæsars were no longer entire, and every neighboring proprietor, and even the passing wayfarer, had helped to displace and, as it were, to root up from the ground those bold aqueducts which had rendered water so abundant in ancient Rome. Some authors have maintained the number of aqueducts to have been eighteen; but there are confusions in the modern plans, and it is safer to limit the number to nine. The first and the largest, according to Frontinus, as quoted by Pansa in his Vatican Library, was that of the new Anienus; the second was that of Claudius, perfected by that emperor. It brought water from the sources of the Curzia and Cerulea, on the road to Subiaco, a distance of forty miles. For thirty-five miles the water ran in a limpid stream in a subterranean canal, passing for a space of thirteen miles under arches, and was from time to time stopped in ninety-two reservoirs, that it might deposit any sediments injurious to health. Thus confined and purified, it parted with various noxious substances, and with the natural impetuosity given by so long a course. The third was the Julian aqueduct, between the Saint Laurence gate and the trophies of Mars, and brought the water from Frascati, a village about twelve miles from Rome, running seven miles and a half of that distance under an arched way. The fourth and fifth aqueducts were called Tepula and Marcia. The sixth was the old Anienus; the seventh, the Aqua Vergine, the only one which remains at this day; the eighth, the Appia; and the ninth, the Alsietina.

For a long time water had been sold in Rome. It was drawn from private wells and fountains, and carried about in barrels on the backs of asses. The famous tribune Cola di

Rienzi was the son of a woman who lived by this traffic. This custom lasted up to the reign of Sixtus V, who built the aqueduct called from him the Aqua Felice. His example was imitated by Paul V, who brought into Rome the water of Lake Bracciano; and by Clement XII, who brought in the waters of Trevi, already successfully collected by Nicholas V and Pius IV.

Sixtus seeing that the supply of the Quirinal quarter absolutely depended upon the water-merchants, who were often extortionate, declared that he would bring water into the loftiest houses in Rome, and that he would be daunted neither by the difficulty of the enterprise nor by the expense.

Engineers well skilled in hydraulics examined for springs capable of supplying those quarters which lacked water.

There were vast springs at about twenty miles from Rome, near an old castle called Agra Colonna. Appius Claudius Crassus had already brought this water into some of the lower parts of Rome; but subsequently, forming a lake, it lost itself in the river Teverone.

Sixtus purchased the source at an expense of twenty-five thousand gold dollars, and swelled it by several other waters, including the mouths of the Marcia water, the salubrity of which was vaunted by the ancients. Not content with that first care, he determined upon a personal inspection of the places; and he went thither accompanied only by Cardinals Montalto, Azzolino, and Rusticucci, so that his usual attendants should not be burdensome to Prince Mark Antony Colonna, who was to entertain the pope; and he blessed a project which was to be so useful to many, without injury to any one.

The Romans, in their ill-timed jeers, for the aqueduct was a permanent benefit to the city, said that the work would not be finished till the days of their grandchildren; and those

same Romans, to their shame, beheld it fully and magnificently finished in 1588, only three years after.

The water runs for thirteen miles in subterranean channels, as was done in the time of the Cæsars, and seven miles through arched viaducts, equal in height to those of ancient times.

The pope then erected a fountain of travertine, a yellowish-white tufa, on the square of Saint Susanna, at the baths of Diocletian, where the water falls into three marble basins, ornamented with two statues. One statue represents Moses striking with his rod the rock from which the living waters leap before the parched Israelites. The sculptor of this statue of Moses, Prosper de Brescia, having had the misfortune to miss the correct proportions, and being criticized by the best artists in Rome, actually died of grief, though he was only twenty-eight years of age. The other statue, from the chisel of John Baptist della Porta, represents Aaron bringing the multitude to the waters.

There is, besides, a bas-relief, by Flaminius Vacca, of Gideon selecting his soldiers by their way of drinking. By the bull Suprema cura regiminis, Sixtus ordered that the water thus brought to Rome should be called Aqua Felice.

Amidst those ideas of vast magnificence, Sixtus directed his attention to the economy of discipline and divine worship.

From the primitive times of the Church, bishops, before they were consecrated, swore, according to a pious custom, to visit in person, or, if personally unable, by deputy, the tombs of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at Rome. At the same time they reported to the pope, or to a congregation, the state of the flock intrusted to their pastoral care, and received instructions calculated to render their ministry the more efficacious and consoling. The custom was falling into ob-

livion, but Sixtus, in view of the evils hence resulting, issued a bull, subsequently confirmed by Benedict XIV, requiring all bishops to visit the holy tombs and pay obedience to the vicar upon earth of our Lord. The time at which this was to be done was determined by the distance. For Italy and the adjacent islands, the bishops were to be in Rome, at furthest, within the third year after their consecration; the bishops of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, England, and other provinces beyond the German Ocean and the Baltic, and those in all the islands of the Mediterranean, were to be in Rome within the fourth year of their consecration. Bishops of more remote parts of Europe, of the African coasts, and the New World, were to come in the fifth year; the bishops of Asia and other new-discovered regions, eastern and western, northern and southern, all over the world, were to visit Rome, at furthest, within the tenth year; and the visits of all bishops were to be renewed at times in like proportion to distances. The pope further commanded that every bishop, at the moment of his consecration, should swear to the same holy observance; and that whoever transgressed the rule should never afterwards enter his church, administer it either as to temporals or spirituals, or receive the fruits of his bishopric.

At present this bull is not in entire operation as concerns the visit of the bishops, but it is only the pope who can dispense with it. The want of agreement is an evil, though occasionally circumstances may render it a benefit. For all that, it is certain that a bishop who has been at Rome possesses in a high degree a kind of experience which cannot but do him personal honor, edify his flock, nobly instruct his conscience, and increase the power of his sacred teaching.

In the month of September, 1585, Sixtus, taking part in the affairs of the League, excommunicated Henry, King of

Navarre, and the Prince de Condé, declaring them to have incurred censures; and then he ordered all the bishops of France and Navarre to promulgate that bull.

Henry III, King of France, would not publish it. Sixtus, of an imperious temper, and especially impatient of affronts, remonstrated warmly with the prince, and still more so with the apostolic nuncio, Monsignor James Ragazzoni, whom the pope accused of lukewarmness in the matter. He instantly recalled Ragazzoni, and sent in his stead Monsignor Fabio Mirto Frangipani, a Neapolitan, Archbishop of Nazareth, who had formerly been nuncio to that kingdom under Pius V. Sixtus summoned to his presence the French ambassador at Rome, to announce his intention of recalling Ragazzoni and sending Frangipani in his stead, so that the King of France might be forewarned of that change. The ambassador, Pisani, having replied that France would refuse to admit Frangipani, who was a partisan of the League, Sixtus replied emphatically: "As long as we have breath we will not appoint our nuncios at the dictation of other princes. We have appointed Mirto Frangipani, and it is our will and pleasure that he go to Paris. If he be not received there, then we, and not others, will direct him to return to Rome; and then we shall know what steps to take." Mirto Frangipani was in fact not received by the king, who ordered his ambassador at Rome to make his excuses to the pope, alleging that Mirto was a subject of Spain. The French ambassador accordingly requested an audience, but the guards at the palace refused him admittance; and on that very day he received orders to leave Rome on the instant, and the Papal States in a few days. This dispute lasted until the King of France consented to receive Mirto, and then Sixtus consented to receive the king's ambassador, Pisani.

The winter of 1585 to 1586 was very severe, and the people

suffered much from both cold and scarcity. Sixtus had ordered that grain should be sold at a low price, but the prudent measures that he had decreed had not been carried out, and the conservators of the senate of Rome were guilty of negligence. When they presented themselves to wish the pontiff a happy new year, he interrupted their compliment by saying: "We perceive that you are determined to lose the little that the kindness of the Holy See has left to you, and also what little ideas you have of the true principles of government. You still have charge of all relating to meat and bread, and your conduct strongly inclines us to take that from you, in order that the poor may not, to our great displeasure, suffer so much by your neglect. Do you understand?"

Subsequently, learning that many wealthy men who had concealed stores of grain nevertheless kept buying bread in the markets, he ordered Cardinals Cesi, Gaetani, and Guastavillani, John Pellicano, senator of Rome, Benedict Giustiniani, treasurer-general, and Fabio de la Corgna, clerk of the chamber, to enforce an edict compelling all citizens to declare the quantity of grain in their possession, and to sell in open market the portion indicated by the edict. In fact, investigation brought to light so much grain that abundance immediately prevailed.

The carnival of Rome was a constant occasion of insult, robbery, murder, and conflagrations. Determined to bring these city pleasures within the bounds of order, Sixtus erected a gibbet at each end of the Corso, with the rope hanging ready, declaring that whoever committed a murder and avowed it should be hanged on the spot. As long as Sixtus lived, miscreants were kept in awe by those gibbets, always erected before them during the carnival, and there was no further occasion to threaten the populace with so ter-

rible a justice. In the course of that year the Holy Father approved the congregation of the Regular Clerks, Ministers to the Infirm, instituted at Rome by Saint Camillus de Lellis, and permitted them to wear a red cross on the right side of their habit. The same rule was approved and confirmed by Gregory XIV, who erected it into an order on the 1st of October, 1591, adding to the previous three vows a fourth—to assist the dying. It was afterwards reformed by Clement VIII, in 1600.

On the 5th of May the pope approved the congregation of Saint Mary des Feuillants, of the strictest Cistercian observance, of the order of Saint Benedict, founded near Toulouse, in 1577, by John de la Barrière.

But nothing can compare with the magnificence with which Sixtus endeavored to embellish the public places of Rome. Obelisks were first set up in Egypt. Generally they are monoliths, single stones, cut into a pyramidal form, and of wonderful height and size. This Egyptian grandeur excited the envy of the idolatrous masters of Rome, and as obelisks could not be formed on the Italian peninsula, which had no quarries of Oriental granite, the Cæsars, at great cost, brought obelisks from Egypt into Italy.

Forty-two of these monuments, large and small, were brought by the emperors into the capital of the world. Noncorius, son of Sesostris, had erected one a hundred and fifty cubits high. A portion of that monument, still seventy-five feet high, was brought from Egypt to the Vatican at Rome, by order of the Emperor Caligula, and dedicated to the memory of Augustus and Tiberius.

Under Sixtus V this obelisk was found half buried near the sacristy of the Basilica of Saint Peter. Nicholas IV is said to have thought of replacing it on the spot it occupied in ancient Rome, and Julius II and Paul III to have dis-

cussed the subject with Michelangelo Buonarroti, who declined to attempt it, deterred by the expense and the danger of its being broken in its removal. Sixtus admitted no difficulties in even the most arduous projects. In truth, he encountered obstacles which seemed insurmountable to all but him. Pliny tells us, in his third book, that the emperor employed twenty thousand men, with costly machinery, to manage the enormous weight of the monolith. What Pliny says was enough to daunt the Holy Father, but he publicly declared that he had determined to prosecute the work. As soon as the pontifical intention was known, more than five hundred architects arrived in Rome, each with his own project. One of them, Bartholomew Ammanati, sent by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was presented to the pope, who asked him how long it would take him to remove and set up the obelisk. The artist replied that it would take a year to plan and prepare the machinery and ironwork. Sixtus, with his usual impetuosity, replied: "A year! a year! You will not do for us!"—"Non fate per noi!" At the same moment he summoned Dominic Fontana, an architect of great ability, from Como, and, by liberal offers, induced him to undertake the great removal. The pope promised liberal payment, but demanded celerity of action. Fontana commenced by ascertaining, by fragments of other obelisks, the weight of a cubic palm (about nine inches, English, each way) of that particular granite. Then having measured the height of the obelisk, which he found to contain eleven thousand cubic palms, he found that the obelisk weighed 963,537 pounds. To this weight he added that of the machine necessary to remove and uphold it, and he found that the united weight of the machinery and obelisk was 1,043,537 pounds. And then he ascertained how many men and horses would be required to lift, move, and set up the obelisk; and being of as

resolute a temper as the magnanimous pope himself, he commenced his work.

When everything was in its place, on the 30th of April, 1586, nine hundred workmen confessed and communicated before dawn in the Basilica of Saint Peter's, and then each of them was stationed at his appointed place. The architect ascended an elevated scaffold with a speaking-trumpet, with which to give the signal to the workmen. Raised in twelve movements, the obelisk was set up the same day, at the hour of three o'clock in the afternoon. On the instant there was one universal burst of joy. The people, attracted to the spectacle, could not restrain their applauses or even their tears. The workmen and the people alike rushed to Fontana and bore him to the pope, who was present, amid the sound of drums and of all the bells of Rome, as on a day of public festivity, the cannon of the Castle of Sant' Angelo adding its thunders.

In order that the signals of the architect might be heard, Sixtus had forbidden any one to speak under pain of death, to prevent all confusion while Fontana was giving his orders. But at the moment that he was watching the play of the machinery, and when the vast crowd stood awed into deepest silence, a Genoese of the Bresca family of San Remo, a seaman, seeing that the windlasses were taking fire from the intense friction, and that, consequently, the obelisk might fall, entailing its own destruction and the death of many, dared to cry out: "Water to the ropes!" Fontana saw the danger and moistened the ropes. Bresca was instantly arrested. He asked to be taken before the pope. All trembled for his life, for Sixtus never pardoned disobedience of his orders. But on this occasion Sixtus, even greater than himself, seeing that Bresca had prevented the ruin of the immense work, publicly embraced the Genoese, and told him to name his

own reward. Then Bresca asked that he and his descendants might have the privilege of providing the apostolic palace with the palms for Palm Sunday, which Sixtus immediately granted. And the Bresca family of San Remo, a place fertile in palms, annually send to Ripa Grande the branches necessary for the apostolic palace, with a hundred and twenty others that are separately sent by the Bishop of Albenga and the chapter of San Remo.

After a week's rest the work was resumed. The obelisk, now erect and cleansed from the mud that had covered its base, was slightly inclined towards the earth. The curiosity of the spectators was so great, and the heat of the season so intense, that the work was not continued during the months of June, July, and August. On the 10th of September, after similar pious ceremonies, the work was resumed at sunrise. At three o'clock in the afternoon, after fifty-two turns of the windlasses, the obelisk was placed on four lions of gilt bronze. On the 27th the casings were removed, and the colossal monument of the glory of pagan Egypt was exposed to the gaze of Catholic Rome.

The pope, faithful to his promise to Fontana, created him a Knight of the Golden Spur, gave him a pension of ten thousand dollars for himself and his heirs, and five thousand dollars in hand, besides all the materials employed in the work.

While on the subject, we will here mention some other obelisks erected by Sixtus, without regard to chronology.

In the following year he set up and dedicated to the Holy Cross, upon the square behind Saint Mary Major, the obelisk, sixty palms high, made by order of Smarra, or Efra, both kings of Egypt, and transported to Rome by the Emperor Claudius, and dedicated to the Mausoleum of Augustus. The barbarians had thrown it down and broken it.

Sixtus V had it restored and set up, in the place we have mentioned, by the same Dominic Fontana.

Then the pope set up and consecrated to the Holy Cross that obelisk which is on the square of Saint John Lateran. It is of red granite and broken into three pieces. It is the largest of all. It was originally at Thebes, and dedicated to the sun by Rameses, King of Egypt. Constantine had it brought down the Nile to Alexandria. The emperor intended it for his new Rome, Constantinople; but Constans, his son, had it transported to the true Rome, on an immense raft impelled by three hundred rowers. It was brought up the Tiber to the Ostia gate, and set up in the great circus, where the barbarians overturned it.

In 1589 the same pope set up on the square Del Popolo the fourth Egyptian obelisk, one hundred and three hands high, exclusive of the pedestal and cross. It had been erected originally by Psammetichus, King of Egypt, and transported from Heliopolis to Rome by Augustus Cæsar, and dedicated to the sun, in the great circus. Sixtus dedicated it to the wood of the Holy Cross.

Amidst these works the heart of Sixtus was torn by the most poignant sufferings. He had endeavored to infuse into the soul of Elizabeth feelings more favorable to Mary, Queen of Scots. All the Catholic sovereigns, and even some of the Protestant sovereigns, were entreated by him to interest themselves in Mary. But Elizabeth either made no reply, or vaguely intimated that a violent party controlled her and demanded the death of the Queen of Scotland.

In the month of December, 1585, Mary knew that her condemnation was near at hand. She instantly wrote the following letter to her cousin the Duke of Guise, thinking that that prince would forward it to Rome.

Mary was accused of complicity in a conspiracy against

the life of Elizabeth. The pope's nuncio at Paris declared that, from all he knew of the disposition of Mary, she was incapable of such a crime. Her secret letter to the Duke of Guise fully proves the feelings of resignation in which that princess dragged on a life of pain.

We transcribe the letter, because it is in some sort prefatory to that which Mary addressed to Sixtus V, an important letter which we shall also insert.

The letter to the Duke of Guise, nephew, as she was niece, to Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, ran thus:

"My good cousin, if God and, under him, you do not find means of immediate succor, all is over. The bearer of this will tell you the treatment I and my two secretaries (Nau and Curle) receive. For God's sake, succor and save them if you can. They accuse us of disturbing the State and practising against the life of this queen, or of having consented thereto; but I have truly told them that I know nothing about it. They say that they have found certain letters upon one Babington and one Charles Paget and his brother, which prove the conspiracy, and that Nau and Curle have confessed it. I say that they confess no such thing, unless falsehood be wrung from them by torture. That is all that has been said to me, but I am informed that they greatly threaten you and your league, and are strengthening themselves with princes of their religion. I have declared to them that I, for my part, am resolved to die for mine, as she protested that she would die for the Protestant. And herein, my cousin, whatever rumors you may hear, spread abroad by their spies and false sowers of rumors, be assured that, God aiding, I shall die in the Roman Catholic Church and for its maintenance; and I shall do so firmly, and without dishonor to the race of Lorraine, accustomed to

die for the maintenance of the faith. Have prayers to God said for me, and endeavor to obtain my body, that it may be laid in holy ground; and have pity on my poor discharged servants, for I am deprived here of everything, and expect poison or some other secret death, for they have rendered me so helpless here that this right hand is so swollen and painful that I can scarcely hold my pen or take food. But, in spite of that, my heart does not fail me, in the hope that He who created me as I am will give me grace to die in his cause, which is the sole happiness that I now desire in this world, in order that I may by that means obtain the mercy of God in the other world.

"I desire that my body may rest at Rheims with my late dear mother, and my heart beside the late king my lord. The bearer will give you many particulars. If at this time there is any care for me, and any desire to see me again and avenge this quarrel that concerns the common cause, much wonder will be felt at the agitation on this side. Adieu, my good cousin. Communicate all this to my ambassador; and if my son will not join in making this attempt on my behalf, I discard him, and I beg that my relatives will do the same. I beg you to remember me to Bernardino; and tell him that I shall hold to all that I have promised my friends, and that they ought not to desert me.

"I recommend to you my poor desolated friends, and especially the three he knows of. God preserve you and all of ours for his service, and grant me pardon in this world and in the other!

"Your affectionate cousin,

"Mary, R."

On the 25th of September the Queen of Scots was removed to Fotheringay Castle, never to leave it alive.

On the 6th of October Elizabeth appointed a commission

of forty-six, selected from the peers of the realm and the members of the council, to try the Queen of Scotland. Summoned to appear before this commission, Mary refused to do so. After a long resistance she, on the 12th of October, consented, but on condition that her protest against the right over her arrogated by Elizabeth should be inserted in the report of the proceedings. Then she energetically defended herself against all participation in any plot formed against the queen, and after refuting with great force the evidence adduced against her, from her correspondence with Babington, she demanded the production of the original letters, and also demanded, as of right, to be confronted with her two secretaries, Nau and Curle. Neither one nor the other was granted. It was at this session that she accused Walsingham of having plotted her death and that of her son, and of having himself formed that plot for which he endeavored to make her responsible. On the 25th of October the commission met at Westminster and pronounced sentence of death against the Queen of Scotland, declaring, in addition, that this sentence was in no wise to prejudice the rights of James VI.

The English Parliament, some days after, confirmed the sentence, and petitioned Elizabeth to carry it speedily into execution.

On the 14th of November Elizabeth caused the Parliament to be asked whether her life could not be placed in safety without the death of Mary Stuart. Both Houses declared it impossible.

On the 19th of November Lord Buckhurst, and Beale, clerk of the council, arrived at Fotheringay to inform Mary of the sentence pronounced against her. She received them with dignified calmness, though protesting her innocence. At the same time she addressed a letter to Elizabeth.

Mary now determined to think of nothing but her salvation. She determined to write to Pope Sixtus V; that was to be the last thought from which nothing was to distract her mind. In the meantime, however, she determined to rid herself of all the interests that still surrounded her in this life, that she might be alone with God and with his vicar here below.

The following is her letter to Elizabeth. In the confusion of her ideas, Mary did not date her letter; but all authors agree that it was written on the 20th of November.

"With all my heart, madam, do I render thanks to God that he, by means of your commands, hath pleased to put an end to my wearisome pilgrimage of life. I do not wish it prolonged, having already had too much time to learn its bitterness. Only, I implore Your Majesty that, as I can expect no favor from the zealous ministers who hold the first places in the English State, I may obtain from you only, and not from others, these following kindnesses:

"First. Since I may not hope for a burial in England according to the Catholic solemnities practised by the ancient kings, your ancestors and mine, and since in Scotland they have violated and defiled the ashes of my fathers, grant that, when my adversaries shall be sullied with my innocent blood, my domestics may bear my body to some consecrated earth, to be there entombed; preferably in France, where repose the bones of the queen my most honored mother; so that this poor body, which never knew repose so long as it was united with my soul, may find it at last when separated.

"Secondly. Because I fear the tyranny of those into whose power you have abandoned me, I beseech Your Majesty that I may not be executed in any hidden place, but in the sight of my domestics and others, who may be witnesses of my faith

and of my obedience to the true Church, and who may defend my last hours and my latest sighs from the false reports that my adversaries may circulate.

"In the third place, I request that my domestics, who have served me so faithfully through so much annoyance, may retire freely whither they may desire, and enjoy the modest benefices that my poverty has left them in my will.

"I conjure you, madam, by the blood of Jesus Christ, by our kindred, by the memory of Henry VII, our common father, and by the title of Queen, which I bear still, even unto death, not to refuse me such reasonable demands, and to assure me of them by a word from your own hand; and thereupon I will die as I have lived,

"Your affectionate sister and prisoner,

"Mary, Queen."

Elizabeth made no reply. But this did not disturb Mary; all her thoughts had now but one object, to recollect herself in God, and to write to Pope Sixtus V. Even for that, her servants had to keep vigilant watch at her chamber door, and she could only write at night. She wished to write a long letter, and nothing was prepared. At length, by devoting several nights to her task, she succeeded in writing with her own hand the following letter:

"JEHSUS MARIA.

✠

"Holy Father:

"Inasmuch as it has pleased God in his divine providence to order in his Church that, under his crucified Son, Jesus Christ, all those who believe in him and are baptized in the

name of the Holy Trinity should recognize as mother one Universal Catholic Church, whose commands, with the ten of the law, are to be kept under pain of damnation, it is requisite that all who aspire to eternal life should keep their gaze steadfastly fixed thereon. Therefore, I, born of royal parents, who were, as I also was, baptized in it; nay, more, I, unworthy as I am, was from the breast called to the throne, and anointed and crowned by the authority and ministers of that Church, and nourished and reared under her wing and on her bosom, and by her instructed in the obedience owed by all Christians to him whom she, guided by the Holy Ghost, has elected according to the ancient decrees and order of the primitive Church to the Apostolical Holy See, as our head on earth, to whom Jesus Christ, in his last testament, speaking to Saint Peter of the foundation of this Church, to bind and to loose poor sinners from the bonds of Satan, absolving us by him, or by his ministers for that appointed, from all crimes and sins that we commit and perpetrate, we being penitent, and as far as in us lies making satisfaction for them, after having confessed according to the ordinance of the Church; I call to witness my Saviour Jesus Christ, the Most Blessed Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary, all the angels and archangels, Saint Peter the shepherd, my peculiar intercessor and special advocate; Saint Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles; Saint Andrew, and all the saints in heaven, that I have always lived in that faith, which is that of the Universal Church Catholic, universal and Roman, in which being regenerated I have always intended to do my duty to the Holy Apostolic See, of which to my great regret I have not been able to render due testimony to Your Holiness, owing to my detention in this captivity, and my long sickness together. But now that it has pleased God, Most Holy Father, to permit for my sins and those of this

unfortunate island, that I, the sole remnant of the blood of England and Scotland possessing that faith, should, after twenty years' captivity, confined in a strait prison, and at length condemned to death by the States and heretical assembly of this country, as was this day communicated to me by Lord Brockhurst, Amias Paulet, my keeper, one Druw Drouri, knight, and a secretary named Beale, in the name of their queen, commanding me to prepare to receive death, and offering me one of their bishops and a dean for my consolation, a priest whom I had having been by them taken away and kept, I know not where, in their hands, I have considered it my first duty to return to God, and then with my own hand to signify to Your Holiness, in order that though I cannot make it known to you before my death, yet after the intent may be manifest to you; which is, the whole being duly sifted and considered, the subversion of their religion in this island, by me, they say, designed, and in my favor attempted, as well as by their own subjects, obedient to your laws, and their declared enemies, as by foreigners, especially the Catholic princes and my family, who all (as they reproach) maintain my right to the crown of England, naming me as such in their prayers, by the churches and the ministers of the same in this nation, and professing obedience and subjection to me. I leave it to Your Holiness to consider the consequence of such a sentence, entreating you to have prayers said for my poor soul [and] the souls of all those who are dead or dying, for the same or the like judgment, and even in honor of God to distribute our alms, and incite the kings to do the same, to those who survive this shipwreck. And my intention is, according to the constitution of the Church, to confess, do such penance as I can, and receive my Viaticum, if I can obtain my chaplain or other lawful minister to administer to me my said sacraments. In default

whereof, with a contrite and penitent heart, I prostrate myself at the feet of Your Holiness, confessing myself to God and to his saints, and to this your paternity, most unworthy sinner and guilty of eternal damnation, if it do not please the good God, who died for penitent sinners, to have mercy; entreating you to take this my general submission as a testimony of my intention to accomplish the remainder in the form ordered and commanded by the Church, and the salvation of my poor soul, between which and the justice of God I interpose the blood of Jesus Christ, crucified for me and for all sinners, the most execrable of whom I confess myself to be, considering the infinite favors from him received, and by me so ill employed, which render me unworthy of pardon, if his promise made to all who heavy laden with sins and spiritual afflictions come to him, to be by him comforted, and his mercy did not embolden me, following his commandment to come to him carrying my burden, in order to be by him relieved of it, after the example of the prodigal son; nay, more, voluntarily offering at the foot of his cross my blood for the adherence and faithful zeal I feel for his Church, without the restoration of which I never desire to live in this wretched world. Further still, Holy Father, leaving no worldly property, I entreat Your Holiness to intercede for me with the Most Christian King, that my dowry may be charged with the payment of my debts, and the wages of my poor desolate servants, and for an annual obit for my soul and for the souls of all our brethren and sisters who in this just quarrel have died. Never having had other private intention, as my poor servants present in my affliction will testify, and as I have willingly offered my life in their heretical assembly, to maintain my Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, and bring back the wanderers of this island, that is themselves, protesting that in that case I would voluntarily

lay down all title and dignity of queen, and do all honor and service to theirs, if she would cease to persecute the Catholics, which I protest is the sole end at which I have aimed since I have been in this country, I have neither ambition nor desire to reign, nor to dispossess another for my sake, being, from sickness and long affliction, so enfeebled that I have no desire to exert myself in this world except in the service of his Church, and to regain the souls of this island to God. In testimony whereof, at my end I will not fail to prefer the public safety to the individual interest of flesh and blood. This makes me to entreat you, in my mortal regret for the perdition of my poor child, after endeavoring by all means to regain him, you being his true father in the faith, as Saint John the Evangelist was to the poor youth whom he took from among thieves, to assume in fine all authority over him that I can give to constrain him. And, if it please Your Holiness, call upon the Catholic king to assist you as regards temporals, and both join in endeavoring to ally him in marriage. And if God for my sins allow my son to be obstinate, as I know no Christian prince of these times who has labored so much for the faith, or who has so great means of reducing this island to the Catholic faith, as the Catholic king to whom I am much indebted, as it was he alone who aided me with both money and advice in my need, under your good pleasure, I leave all [to him] that I have of right or interest in the government of this kingdom, my son remaining obstinately out of the pale of the Church. Should he be regained, I desire that he be by that prince and my relations the Guises aided, supported, and advised, enjoining him with my last will to hold them, next to you, as his fathers, and to marry with their advice, or into one of their houses; and if it so please God, I should like him to become the son-in-law of the Catholic king. Behold the secret of my heart, and the

sum of my worldly desires, tending, as I understand it, to the good of his Church and to the discharge of my conscience, that I lay at the feet of Your Holiness, which I most humbly kiss.

"You will have a true account of the manner of my last hour and capture, and of all the proceedings both against me and by me, in order that, understanding the truth, the calumnies upon me of the enemies of the Church may by you be refuted and the truth known. And to this I despatch the bearer to you, requesting for the end your benediction, and saying to you the last adieu, praying God long to preserve your person in his grace for the welfare of his Church and of your desolate flock, especially of this island, which I leave much erring and deluded, without God's mercy and your paternal care.

"From Fodringay, this xxiii November, 1586.

"Excuse my writing, on account of the weakness of my arm. I, to my great regret, hear evil reports about some who are near Your Holiness, who are said to receive bribes from this State to betray the cause of God, and that cardinals are implicated.

"I leave it to Your Holiness to examine into that, and to watch a certain Lord Saint John, who is strongly suspected of being a spy of the Great Treasurer. There are false brethren, and I answer that those whom I have recommended to you are altogether different.

"Of Your Holiness the most humble and devoted daughter,

"Mary, Queen of Scotland, dowager of France."

James Belton, Archbishop of Glasgow, ambassador from Scotland to the Most Christian King, forwarded this letter

to Louis Audouin, Bishop of Cassano, who was then at Rome and was to deliver it to the pope.

The Roman court, hearing of the condemnation of Mary, redoubled its efforts to save her. It is probable its earnest solicitations had the effect of suspending the execution of the sentence of death, for it did not take place until the following year, 1587, on the 8th of February according to the old calendar, and the 18th according to the new.

On the eve of the execution she wrote to Préau, her chaplain, thus: "I have to-day been attacked for my religion and receiving its consolation. The heretics will learn by Bourgois and others that I have faithfully made protestations of my faith, in which I will die. I have requested to have you to make my confession and receive my sacrament, which has been cruelly refused me, as well as the transport of my body and the power freely to make my will, or write anything but through their hands and at the good pleasure of their mistress. In default of this, I confess in general the grievousness of my sins, as I had intended to confess to you in particular, begging you, in the name of God, to watch and pray with me this night for the satisfaction of my sins, and to send me your absolution and your pardon for all the offences I have given to you. I will endeavor to see you in their presence, as they have granted my majordomo, Andrew Melville; and if permitted to do so, I will on my knees ask your benediction in the presence of them all. Advise me of the most appropriate prayers for this night and for to-morrow morning, for the time is short, and I have not leisure to write. I will recommend you to the king—I have no more leisure."

A copy of this letter was sent to Rome by Préau, the almoner, who had received it. The vicegerent of that city had ordered prayers for the queen in all the churches.

The faithful chaplain succeeded during the night in making his way to Mary's servants, who introduced him for a moment into her chamber, when he gave her communion with a host that Gregory XIII, in his pious solicitude for the queen, had formerly sent her.

Préau subsequently addressed to the Holy Father an account of the execution, drawn up under the eyes of a Protestant, Nicholas Andrews, sheriff of the county of Northampton, present at the execution.

In his desire to protect antiquities and surround them with respect, Sixtus, in 1586, ordered the restoration of the superb column of Trajan, reared, after seven years' labor, by the Roman senate, in the year 106, to the Emperor Trajan. Around it are sculptures representing the actions of that prince, and especially the facts of the Dacian war.

The Holy Father, having ordered the removal of the urn which had contained the ashes of Trajan till the barbarians scattered them, had a statue of the Prince of the Apostles cast by Sebastian Torresani, after a model of Thomas della Porta.

Nothing could escape the zeal of so magnificent a pontiff. He commanded the restoration of the Antonine column, and surmounted it by a bronze statue of Saint Paul, nineteen palms high, also cast by Sebastian Torresani from the designs of Thomas della Porta. This column is a hundred and seventy-five feet high.

Looking upon all these works, we cannot too much admire the greatness of Sixtus V, his love of the arts, and that irresistible attraction which led him everywhere to erect sumptuous monuments to the Catholic religion.

We do not speak of streets opened in the city, or of the numberless embellishments ordered by this pope. He deemed himself bound to fulfil his sovereign duties in his

city of Rome, and he overwhelmed it with favors, rendering it the finest, as it was the most religious, city in the world.

The repairs which this pope ordered to be made at Saint John Lateran rendered more imposing that basilica which is called the "head and mother of the world."

Switzerland having, in most of the cantons, embraced Calvinism, the popes had ceased to send nuncios, for fear of exposing them to insults and persecutions. But Sixtus, knowing that the Catholic cantons desired the presence of an apostolical nuncio, sent thither Monsignor John Baptist Santorio, who was received with great demonstrations of joy at Lucerne, then and now pre-eminently the Swiss city of the faith. The Sacred College had lost many members. Sixtus determined to create two. However, previous to proceeding to a nomination, he published a bull, signed by thirty-seven cardinals, containing excellent arrangements upon their creation, their numbers, their qualifications, and the manner of life incumbent upon them. Among other things, it was his order that there should be seventy cardinals, and that any election in excess of that number should be void. They could be chosen from any Christian nation, provided that they should be adorned by the virtues indicated by the law, virtues that must be known to the pope and to the Sacred College. It was necessary to their creation that they should receive at least minor orders, and have worn, for a year previously, the clerical habit and tonsure. They were to be created only on fast-days in December, according to the ancient custom of the popes Anacletus, Saint Clement, Saint Evaristus, Saint Alexander, and others, during more than six hundred years.

The law rendered eligible to that dignity any one who, though having sons or grandsons by lawful marriage, had remained for some time a widower. During the life of a car-

dinal, no one could be promoted to that dignity who was his brother, his uncle, his nephew, or related to him in the first or second degree.

Of the seventy cardinals, there were to be, at the least, four masters in theology of the regular mendicant orders.

To complete the number of seventy, there were to be six suburbican bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons. These last could not be elected under the age of twenty-two. In the year of their creation they must take deacon's orders, if not already ordained; in default of which, they can neither vote nor be voted for in the Sacred College. Cardinal-deacons, when ordained priests, remain in the order of deacons until the number of fourteen has been filled by other creations.

Illegitimate sons were incapable of the cardinalate, even though legitimatized by a subsequent marriage of their parents, or by apostolical authority, or though they were of the blood royal.

The law further ordains that the cardinals at a distance from Rome should visit that city in the course of the year, and must swear to do so before receiving the red hat.

When Sixtus ascended the throne, he found the treasury entirely empty. The vast ideas of that pontiff, the immense expenses of the embellishment of Rome, and the immediate wants of the Church, all required much money, which the apostolic chamber did not possess. To meet the heavy drain, Sixtus, in imitation of his predecessors, began to reform the vacabili—offices conferred on persons who exercise them for life, by purchase. As they lapse on becoming vacant by the death of the incumbent, they were called vacabili. Sixtus suppressed the vacabili that he found in existence, and created others. Aided by a good administration of these offices, Sixtus was able to provide for his heavy expenses

without burdening the people with imposts, and left in the treasury an amount estimated at three millions of dollars. Many of his foundations still endure, like that of the Presepio at Saint Mary Major, which we cannot describe within our narrow limits. The vacabili were a source of money; that is to say, the places were sold, not given. Sixtus introduced a formidable order into the financial department. Nothing was stolen, all reached the treasury which the treasury had the right to receive, and nothing went out again without special, precise, and explicit order. The accounts were inspected and balanced every week: hopes became neither delusions nor failures. Great financial and administrative skill is the boast of many courts in Europe; yet never, perhaps, was there a government more upright or more watchful than that of Sixtus V; and he has obtained renown for so much that this has been forgotten, though it is by no means the least honorable to a sovereign. In this he, with a noble emulation, followed the example of Gregory XIII.

It will not be too much to say that the admirable administrations of Gregory and of Sixtus V contributed to create in the Romans a profound affection for the Holy See. Rome, seeing that she had a father so attentive, a guardian so vigilant, could not but love with a new tenderness her generous benefactor, the pope. In fact, it is not sufficient to praise the good fortune that elicited the gratitude of Rome, for it extended all over the Catholic world. The Roman throne became too firmly set to move; the subjects, even the most undisciplined and the oldest, wore a submissive countenance; and thoughts of revolt and disobedience, arising at times in Rome, no longer detracted from the veneration due the Holy See. But the isolated respect of Rome did not suffice Sixtus V.

John Pepoli, one of the wealthiest and most illustrious

knights of Bologna, held an assassin as a prisoner in one of his castles. Cardinal Salviati demanded him from Pepoli, who replied: "On my own domain I know no pope, no prince." The cardinal arrested the insolent noble, and reported the affair to Sixtus, who ordered the case to be investigated at Rome. It was proven that the assassin had actually been liberated to disturb the public peace, and also that Pepoli had spoken of the Holy See in terms that might become a pretext for fresh rebellions. Sixtus, on the one hand, ordered the sentence against John Pepoli to be executed; and then, to prove that no passion had dictated the sentence, and to prevent all insult to that illustrious family, he gave the cardinal's hat to Guido Pepoli, brother of John.

These labors did not prevent the pope from watching over the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline. In two years he issued more than seventy-two bulls of this character. Since that time, in some of the secretaryships of the congregations of the cardinals, it is customary to pay a small fee, especially in those of "bishops and regulars," "immunity," "discipline," and "repairs." The fee pays the copyists, the translators, and the expense of parchment, paper, and seal. But in the other secretaryships no fees whatever are paid. The other secretaryships, independent of a few which still receive nothing, not even a farthing, are those of the penitentiary, Holy Office, Index, council; and the faithful are served gratuitously, not even the price of stationery being demanded.

We do not speak here of the datary, where fees are paid, but where a great abatement is readily granted.

The Vatican Basilica had up to this time remained incomplete, and that house of God called for the most anxious cares of the pontiff. He intrusted the continuation of the works to Jacopo della Porta and Dominic Fontana, that ener-

getic artist justly favored by a pope who knew the value of time. Sixtus was never alarmed by the most difficult enterprises; such dangers flattered and stimulated his courage. He sent for the two architects, and told them that he had only two things to recommend to them; and we shall recognize the bold spirit of him who said these words: "Do not mind the cost; do it quickly." That great pontiff had, as it were, a commission to accomplish the most admirable works; and in the fulfilment of that mission he only found that he had not time to finish so many truly gigantic and superhuman enterprises.

The architects began their work on the 15th of July, 1588, by employing fifteen hundred masons; and on the 14th of May the vast cupola was finished, even to the lantern and the little cupola (cupolina). Thence to the cross took seven months to finish.

This wonder-working pope did not rest, taking even scarcely time for sleep at night. He issued almost simultaneously four very important edicts. The first forbade insult to the Jews, who were not to be provoked, still less to be struck. The second forbade excavating the ground in or out of Rome, in inhabited places, as such excavations, imprudently conducted, ruined many buildings. The third related to attempts at illicit conversation with nuns. The fourth ordered the streets to be kept in the most perfect state of cleanliness, so that the atmosphere should not be infected with putrid or poisonous miasma.

Towards the close of 1588, the pope, on the request of John Baptist de Montegiano, of the Marches, guardian of Jerusalem, sent him aid for the pilgrims, and urged him to redouble his zeal in guarding the holy places.

Tolerance, prudence, discipline, and the principal duties of the ædileship received at once a homage and an incitement

from this charitable, far-seeing, pious prince, so careful of the life of his fellow-citizens.

The Holy Father, in the midst of a grand solemnity in the Church of the Vatican, on the 14th of May, 1588, placed among the holy doctors Saint Bonaventure, a religious of his order; as Saint Pius had done, who had granted the same honor to Saint Thomas Aquinas, of his order. The 2d of July following, at the request of the Catholic king, Sixtus canonized the Blessed Diego of Saint Nicholas, a Franciscan lay brother, who was born in a low condition at Porto, in the diocese of Seville, and died in the convent of Alcala de Henares, on the 12th of November, 1463. The altar upon which the pope accomplished the ceremony was declared papal, and sent to Philip II, with a bull of the 20th of August, 1588, prescribing the persons who alone were to celebrate Mass on that privileged altar.

The books in the library of Saint John Lateran had previously been removed to the Vatican. This library is said to have been restored by Saint Zachary I and some of his successors. Sixtus, seeing the insufficiency of the old locality, ordered the books to be removed to a place in the same palace called the Belvedere. Fontana again, by order of Sixtus, prepared the rooms in which the library is kept.

It may not be useless to give some more exact details as to the origin of the Vatican Library, details which we owe to Monsignor Rocca. Whatever pains may have been taken by Saint Zachary in founding the Vatican Library, since become such an inestimable treasure, it began, as German scholars admit, with Biblical manuscripts, chiefly of the Gospels, the Epistles of Saint Peter, of Saint Paul, of Saint James, of Saint John, and of Saint Jude, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Apocalypse, of the Decretals, of the Synodal Constitutions, and of a host of decrees published by

laborious pontiffs, vicars of Jesus Christ, and worthy successors of the Prince of the Apostles.

Rome bases her opinion upon the testimony of Saint Jerome, who affirms that, from all parts of the Christian world, it was usual to have recourse to the Roman archives, where the acts of the general councils were filed. There application was made for the decision of questions, and to ascertain whether a canon had been altered or corrupted. Saint Gregory the Great, in reference to a controversy which arose in the Council of Ephesus, replied: "The Latin manuscripts are more genuine than the Greek." Now, these Roman manuscripts were somewhere, and the place in which they were kept was naturally called the library.

In the celebrated Roman council under Saint Gelasius, the fiftieth pope, elected in 492, mention is made of the Roman archives and scrinia, of the library, scribes, notaries, and scrinaries; whence it may be inferred that, towards the fifth century, the Roman Church possessed a great number of books, which it was very necessary to preserve in a library.

Panvinius ascribes the institution of the Vatican Library to Saint Clement, pope in the year 91.

Saint Julius I, the thirty-fifth pope, elected in 337, ordered everything relative to the preservation and extension of the faith to be brought together by the notaries of the Holy Roman Church, and required the chief notaries to deposit it in the church. That pope also ordered all bonds, acts, donations, traditions, testimonies, allegations, and the manumissions of the clerics to be collected in the archives. Cenni regards this step as the formal commencement of the papal library.

Whatever may have been the commencement, a point upon which authors do not agree, it is certain that we speak here of a very ancient institution. It is ancient, because anciently

it could not have been dispensed with, and without a library there could have been no ecclesiastical administration. Now, an admirable ecclesiastical administration, more or less universal, has existed since Saint Peter.

By the Liber Pontificalis, attributed to Anastasius the Librarian, we are told that Saint Hilary, the forty-seventh pope (A.D. 461), formed two libraries in the baptistery of Saint John Lateran; and that Gregory III, ninety-first pope, formed one in the Lateran Palace. We must suppose them united, for Saint Gregory the Great, without making any distinction, speaks of the Roman library, of which he was made guardian by Saint Sergius I. While the popes inhabited Saint John Lateran, the library was preserved there. At this juncture a great event occurred—the removal of the Holy See to Avignon; and the library was also transferred to that city. At the end of the schism, Martin V had it restored to the Vatican, excepting a part which remained at Avignon, but Pius V recovered a portion of what was wanting. There still remained some ancient and important documents, which Pius VI providentially restored to Rome in 1784, with all the documents of the administration of the popes at Avignon; so that this library became more and more celebrated.

However, we have properly only to speak of its condition under Sixtus V. We have seen the reception given by Nicholas V to the Greeks who had been driven from Constantinople, and his care to have ancient works translated by them. All those labors, and many subsequent ones, increased his treasure. Calixtus III and Sixtus IV still further enriched that precious deposit. Sixtus V ordered the accumulated mass of books and manuscripts to be arranged, and he erected the beautiful building now so generally admired.

Paul V enriched it with some rare manuscripts. In 1622

it was considerably increased by the donation of the library of Heidelburg. That city having fallen into the power of the Count de Tilly, the emperor presented Urban VIII with the library of the elector palatine, which, in fact, Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, had already given to Gregory XV. It was rich in all the literary wealth possessed by the monasteries before the Reformation. Alexander VII added the books of the dukes of Urbino, and Alexander VIII the books purchased at the death of Queen Christina of Sweden.

There also were collected the manuscripts of the Maronite Ecchellensis, of the noble Roman, Pietro della Valle, and the private library of Pius II. Clement XII, faithful to the plan of Sixtus V, added another wing; and all his successors deserve the praise of enriching it still further by new acquisitions of literary wealth from the Catholic world.

Sixtus established a press here, on which he finally issued his edition of Saint Ambrose. There also were printed the works of Gregory the Great, Saint Bonaventure, and of other holy Fathers; the great Roman Bullarium of Laertius Cherubini; both editions of the Holy Scripture, the Septuagint and the Vulgate, which were published in 1590.

This gave the stamp of immortality to that great Sixtus V, who with his own hand corrected the proofs of those monuments of divine goodness and human wisdom. Unfortunately, some errors crept in, which gave rise to many remarks in the Catholic world; but Gregory XIV had them corrected, and the printing of the revised text began under Clement VIII.

It is impossible further to enumerate the advantage of the benefits we owe to Sixtus V. Civita Vecchia lacked water, and he had an aqueduct constructed to convey it to that city; he commenced the draining of the Pontine marshes, and he ordered the raising of the beautiful Scala Santa, because it

was the stairway by which Jesus Christ ascended and descended from the palace of Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem. He began the Ponte Felice, near Otricoli, and he placed in the Quirinal the two magnificent marble horses, held by two young men, which Constantine the Great had removed to Rome.

At this moment the affairs of France required the attention of the pope. He had excommunicated Henry III, on account of the assassination of the Guises, which had excited just indignation at Rome. Henry III, in his turn, died by the hand of an assassin; and Sixtus, no longer cognizant of the real state of affairs, recalled his nuncio. Another was now to be sent. Cardinal Gaetani was sent to Paris to ascertain which party was most in the right. The sentiments of the pontiff could not be penetrated—he manifested no preference.

Gaetani was enthusiastically received by the League. Henry IV and the princes of the blood thought it advisable to send an ambassador to Rome to give proper information to Sixtus V. The Duke of Luxemburg had entered Rome. Olivares, Philip's ambassador, hastened to the palace of the pope, and said to His Holiness, with some vivacity, that if Luxemburg, the abettor of the Prince of Navarre, were not driven from Rome, the ambassador of His Catholic Majesty would protest. Sixtus replied: "Protest! what protest can you make? You offend the majesty of your king. We know how wise a prince he is. You also offend our majesty. Our love for the Catholic king is a fortunate circumstance for you. Now, you understand us?" He immediately rang his bell, and had the ambassador shown out, only adding the single word, "Retire!"

In the meantime, King Henry, at the head of only six thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, had gained, at

Ivry, a brilliant victory over the Leaguers, commanded by the Duke of Mayenne, who was at the head of three thousand cavalry and twelve thousand infantry.

The news of this event had scarcely reached Rome when the ambassador of the League demanded an audience of the pope, and presented to His Holiness the supplication of the Leaguers for aid. Sixtus replied: "Well! well! As long as we imagined that the Leaguers were laboring for religion, we assisted them; but now that we have learned that you fight for ambition, founded upon a false pretence, you have nothing to hope for from us." And he dismissed him.

Such was the state of things when the indefatigable pope was attacked by a tertian ague, which, changing to an intermittent fever, soon became mortal. Sixtus, whose illness was aggravated by his being compelled to keep his bed, beheld with calm courage the approach of his last moments, and died on the 27th of August, 1590, aged sixty-nine years, after governing the Church five years, four months, and three days.

The body was taken from the palace of Monte Cavallo, which he had inhabited, to the Vatican.

Olivares endeavored to incite the mob to demolish the statue of Sixtus at the Capitol; but the cardinals arrested the tumult. The Romans could not but love this pope. Although born in a low rank of society, his views were never mean; everything in him was grand, everything in his conduct was firm. He was liberal, splendid, magnificent. He gave office to deserving men. He rewarded good ministers, leaving them no room to care for their own fortunes. The declared protector of the orphans, the poor, and the sick, he was endowed with great penetration and an impetuous will. The more difficult the project, the more readily he undertook it; and he surmounted all obstacles. He never lost his pres-

ence of mind; his memory was tenacious, and he was the declared enemy of vice. He conversed affably, but always without a laugh. When he spoke in public he was occasionally too emphatic, but he was none the less eloquent and majestic. His temper was at times somewhat fiery, and when angry his eyes seemed to flash fire.

He ate and drank but little. His ordinary attire was very simple, but he would have sumptuous ecclesiastical vestments. His tiara surpassed in richness those of all his predecessors.

He was well versed in both philosophy and theology, and no stranger to poetry. If we consider this pope in the regularity of his private life, in public administration, or in the management of the most apparently inextricable affairs, we must consider him to have been one of those rare men who do honor to humanity and have scarcely anything of its weakness. We forget the immense distance between his father's humble cot and the exalted throne of the Vatican; in brief, all must agree that he was a sovereign well worthy to reign.

As regards his personal portrait, this pope was robust, though he was of only ordinary stature. His complexion was neither dark nor pale. His reception of those admitted to audience was that of a great man inclined to affability and who controls himself. His eyes were small but bright, and his eyebrows black and arched. His forehead was spacious and somewhat wrinkled. The nose and mouth were well proportioned, and his beard thick, white, and long, as princes then wore it.

The Holy See was vacant eighteen days.

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URBAN VII—A.D. 1590

GIOVANNI BATTISTA CASTAGNA (Urban VII) was born at Rome, on the 4th of August, 1521, of a noble Genoese family. He took the degree of doctor in the civil and canon law at Bologna. His uncle, Cardinal Verallo, being legate in France, Giovanni Battista became his auditor. Julius III made him referendary of the signature of justice, and then, about 1553, Archbishop of Rossano; as such he attended the Council of Trent. By order of Pius IV, no decree affecting the pontifical authority was to be adopted without the sanction of Castagna. The Fathers, seeing his talent and his aptitude, made him prefect of the congregations. He gave much advice that secured a happy issue to the operations of that assembly. Julius III made him governor of Fano, and Paul IV invested him with similar authority over Perugia and Umbria. By command of Pius IV he accompanied to Spain Cardinal Buoncompagni, subsequently Pope Gregory XIII. Giovanni Battista had been made nuncio, and for seven years resided with that title at Madrid, where he held, at the baptismal font, Isabella, the eldest daughter of Philip II. On his return to Rome he resigned, without a pension, the archbishopric of Rossano; and Gregory XIII sent him as nuncio to Venice, whence Gregory removed him to be for a year governor of Bologna. Thence he passed to Cologne, to aid the Bishop of Liège in bringing about a treaty that would restore peace between the Catholic king and the United Provinces. At length, after this active life, full of important services to the Church, he was created

by Gregory XIII cardinal, on the 12th of December, 1583, and sent as legate to Bologna.

After the funeral of Sixtus V, on the 7th of September, when Anthony Boccapaduli had delivered a discourse for the election of the successor, fifty-three cardinals entered into conclave. An attempt was first made to place the tiara on the head of Mark Antony Colonna; but they could not agree upon him, and then, by common consent, they elected Cardinal Castagna, on the 15th of September, 1590. He chose the name of Urban VII, that he might not forget, as he said, the urbanity which he wished to show to every one. It was said that Sixtus V, who greatly loved him, predicted his elevation. It is related that, as they dined together at a country house, Sixtus, helping himself to some pears, found a decayed one, and said: "Just now the Romans do not like pears (Peretti); they will soon have chestnuts (Castagna)." Desirous of showing the fitness of his name, Urban caused the poor of Rome to be numbered, that he might give them alms; and he at the same time granted liberal aid to cardinals whose income was insufficient.

Very early in his reign he ordered the reform of the datary, and determined upon continuing the buildings commenced by Sixtus V, saying that when they were finished inscriptions should be placed upon them in honor of Sixtus, and not the armorial bearings of the new pope.

Some of his relations hastened to Rome. He sent them back by the same road, without office, dignity, or any other advantage. He signified to his nephew, Mario Millini, governor of the Castle of Sant' Angelo, that he was not to accept the title of excellency, which is commonly given by courtesy to near relations of a pope, and forbade any of his kindred to assume a title superior to that previously enjoyed. Nevertheless; he gave a canonship of Saint Peter's to Fab-

ricius Verallo, his nephew, exhorting him to keep within the primitive moderation and religiously to exercise the office of canon.

He would not employ any of his relations in the court offices, in order that he might the more severely punish agents guilty of misconduct.

The fine qualities of this pope excited hopes of a corresponding administration, when symptoms of illness, which appeared on the day after his election, excited fears for his life. From that moment until his death he daily confessed and communicated, and the whole city of Rome incessantly put up prayers to God in his behalf. Public processions were made, the Holy Sacrament was exposed, and no pious exercise was omitted to obtain from God the restoration of so good a pope.

Then he thought of removing to Monte Cavallo, where the air is purer, and many of the cardinals prepared to accompany him. But the etiquette which is so austerely observed by the masters of the ceremonies at Rome would not allow the pope to be seen in Rome before he was crowned; and instead of his being removed by night, when no one would have seen him, the projected removal was abandoned altogether.

The pope continued to grow weaker. He confirmed his will, by which he left to the Brotherhood of the Annunciation his whole patrimony, amounting to thirty thousand crowns, to furnish marriage portions for poor girls. He then returned thanks to God for recalling him so soon, so that he would have no account to give of his papacy. Yet surely he would not have blasted the favorable hopes entertained of him. But, at the end of a reign of only thirteen days, he died, not quite seventy years of age, on the 27th of September, 1590, without having been crowned. How-

ever, the medal for his coronation had already been struck, and it served for his successor, with only the alteration of the name and head. Urban was deposited at the Vatican until a tomb was raised for him in the Church of the Minerva.

The Holy See was vacant two months and seven days.

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GREGORY XIV—A.D. 1590

GREGORY XIV, originally named Nicolo Sfondrati, belonged to a noble family of Milan, which was founded by Conrad, a German, who, in the time of Otho IV, established himself in Italy.

The mother of Nicolo, Anna Visconti, died, and by the Cæsarean operation Nicolo was brought into the world on the 11th of February, 1535. The infant, though for some time very weak, gradually gained a little strength. In the course of years he studied, successively, at Perugia, Padua, and Pavia, at which last he received the doctorate. While still young, he became a member of the household of Charles Borromeo. On the 12th of March, 1560, being then twenty-five years old, he was named Bishop of Cremona by Pius IV, who sent him to Trent, in which council he drew up the celebrated decree which prohibited the plurality of benefices. The Holy See was so satisfied with the services of Nicolo that without his own consent he was promoted to the purple by Gregory XIII, on the 12th of December, 1583, under the title of Saint Cecilia.

The sacred electors having entered into conclave, to the number of fifty-two, on the 8th of October, named as gov-

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ernor of it Octavius Bandini, who was afterwards a cardinal. There were several candidates in view for the tiara. Cardinal Montalto supported Cardinal Scipio Gonzaga, who opposed that design with a persistency as noble as it was courageous, and compelled Montalto to abandon his project.

A great number of votes were united on Cardinal Gabriel Paleotto, but he had not a sufficient number; two new cardinals arriving, thirty-six votes were requisite. At length, on the 5th of December, 1590, at about noon, the fifty-six electors elected, with open votes, Cardinal Sfondrati, then aged fifty-five years. He thus on the instant found himself honored with a charge which he had not expected or desired. At the moment he was so astonished that, turning to the cardinals, who saluted him as Holy Father, he said: "God forgive you! What have you done?"

However, he burst into tears, and refused to walk, and his voice was choked with sobs. The sedia gestatoria was brought in, and he was carried in spite of himself into the Basilica of the Vatican, amidst the acclamations of the populace, who wished him a long reign.

It is known that Gregory XIII gave the purple to Nicolo, and that he endeavored to refuse it, exclaiming: "Why, there is a host of prelates more deserving of it than I!" When the cardinals elected him pontiff they experienced still greater resistance, but only became the more animated to conquer each new repulse. Although he would not utter a word, it was necessary that a name should be selected for him, if he should persist in not selecting one for himself. That of Gregory was pronounced, and a feeling of gratitude, evidenced by a slight smile, was his only reply; but it was taken for a tacit consent. That slight sign was taken advantage of to prepare for the ceremony of the coronation of Gregory XIV, which took place on the 8th of December.

On the 13th of the same month Gregory took possession of Saint John Lateran.

While he was cardinal, his modesty, his knowledge, and the purity of his morals endeared him to Saint Philip Neri and Saint Ignatius Loyola. Gregory deeming it a duty to offer the purple to Saint Philip, the saint declined it, alleging the same reasons that had formerly been urged by Gregory himself; and, while warmly thanking him, would not accept that honor. It was related that when Saint Philip went to pay his respects to Gregory, the latter rose, hastened to meet him, and said to him: "We are greater than you in dignity, but you are far greater than we in sanctity." He immediately ordered the saint to be seated, and even to resume his biretta.

To show his respect for the virtues of Ignatius, Gregory, in 1591, confirmed the institute and the constitution of the Society of Jesus.

We shall here see the famous Arnaud d'Ossat, afterwards cardinal, figure in a remarkable manner. He will be more particularly spoken of when honored with the full confidence of Henry IV of France. At present we confine ourselves to mentioning his proceedings in the service and name of Queen Louise of Lorraine, who wished the Roman court to cause solemn obsequies to be celebrated in honor of Henry III, King of France, her deceased husband. But that prince had died excommunicated, and it was difficult to obtain such a compliance from the court of Rome, which had not deigned to make a reply. D'Ossat at length obtained a brief, but it could not have been quite satisfactory to Her Majesty. The pope, after congratulating Her Majesty upon her having had Masses said, and having imposed upon herself fasting and almsgiving for the salvation of souls, proceeded thus: "The ornamentation of a tomb, the show of mourning, and

the funereal pomps, are consolations for the survivors, not benefits to the dead. For pious souls who, free from sins, have flown to the Lord, it matters little that their bodies have a sordid tomb, or none; even as the costliest tomb does nothing for the impious and those who are still bound in the bonds of sin."

Following the example of Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, the pope publicly renewed, by the constitution Romanus Pontifex, that of Saint Pius V which forbade to alienate or grant in fief the property of the Roman Church. The whole city of Rome applauded that just and courageous act. At that precise time Alphonsus II, Duke of Ferrara, visited Rome, accompanied by a suite of six hundred gentlemen. Gregory gave him a magnificent reception, lodged him in the palace, and treated him the same as he would have treated the most powerful of sovereigns. The secret object of Alphonsus's journey was to solicit, in favor of another family than his own, the D'Este family, the reversion of the duchy of Ferrara. Alphonsus was the last of the house of Este who had enjoyed that duchy, and before dying he wished to present that possession to a friendly family, instead of restoring it to the Holy See, which was the sovereign of the duchy. Gregory intrusted the examination of that demand to thirteen cardinals, and, on their report, decided that he could not grant that favor without infringing the constitution Romanus Pontifex.

Unfortunately, attacked by a feeling of nepotism, Gregory named as cardinal his nephew Paulus Emilius Sfondrati, who was only thirty-one years of age.

By a new constitution Gregory confirmed that given by Pius IV regarding wagers upon the length of life and the death of the pontiffs, and upon the creation of cardinals. Some persons engaged in that illicit and indecent wagering,

in order to save themselves from loss, sometimes disturbed the elections; and others, to increase their chance of winning, did not blush to circulate calumnies against worthy men who were thought likely to be raised to the purple.

He forbade the Capuchins to administer the sacrament of penance, in order that they might have the more time for the contemplation of divine things. But Clement VIII, in 1598, again permitted them to hear the confessions of the faithful.

He published a law upon the immunity of the churches, and rendered many decrees concerning promotions to bishoprics and other consistorial dignities.

On the 6th of March, 1591, Gregory made a second promotion of cardinals. Among others, it included Octavius Pallavicini, a noble Roman; Odoard Farnese, of the family of the dukes of Parma, and nephew of Cardinal Farnese. Odoard was declared protector of the crowns of Aragon, Portugal, England, and Scotland.

After consulting the cardinals, the pope issued a bull, at the solicitation of Cardinal Bonelli, a Dominican, nephew of Saint Pius V. That bull granted to the cardinals who belonged to a religious order the right to wear red hats. Till then they had had to wear hats of the same color as the habit of their order. On the 9th of June the pope himself, previous to leaving the Quirinal Palace for the Church of the Holy Apostles, to hold a papal chapel, placed the red hats on the heads of Cardinals Bonelli and Berner, Dominicans; Boccafuoco, Minor Conventual; and Petrochini, Hermit of Saint Augustine.

Gregory erected into a religious order the congregation of the Regular Clerks, Ministers to the Infirm, founded at Rome by Saint Camillus de Lellis, priest of Buclano, in the diocese of Chieti. By the constitution Ex omnibus, of the

18th of March, 1586, Sixtus V had approved the congregation, but declared that the vows must be spontaneous.

In the castle of Zagarolo, an estate situated twenty miles from Rome, which belonged first to the house of Colonna, then to that of Ludovisi, and then to that of Rospigliosi, the final correction was given to the Bible. That care had been intrusted to six able theologians, presided over by Cardinal Mark Antony Colonna.

Few persons had as yet noticed the tendency towards nepotism from which Gregory had been unable to free himself. That disease of the pontifical court soon manifested itself more fatally. The pope named his nephew Hercules Sfondrati general of the Holy Church, and sent him into France at the head of an army of six thousand Swiss, two thousand Italian infantry, and a thousand horse. These troops were to assist the French Leaguers, who were fighting against Henry IV. Subsequently the pope sent into France, as his nuncio, Marsilius Landriani, who was the bearer of two monitions. One of those documents concerned all persons who should espouse the party of Henry, and the other was especially directed against such nobles as should not abstain from encouraging heresy.

Spondanus affirms that, besides these monitions, Hercules Sfondrati was provided with a bull which directly excommunicated Henry of Navarre.

That was the last effort of this pope's power. He was suddenly taken ill. He was removed to the palace of Saint Mark, at Rome, which the republic of Venice had momentarily restored, and that building was surrounded by gates and guards to prevent approach. But the condition of the pope was not to be ameliorated, and he himself considered that he was in great danger. Then he had all the cardinals summoned around him. He represented that his incapacity

for government was still further increased by his infirmities, and he entreated that, even during his life, they would elect a successor. That demand was in opposition to a host of constitutions that had always been respected. The cardinals at once declared that they would not consent to be guilty of such an act. Then he exhorted them to choose, after his death, a successor worthy of the pontificate, and to choose him promptly, without cabals and without contests.

To the other sufferings of Gregory were added those of the disease known by the name of the stone. Life was no longer for him anything but a long torture.

Campana relates that, to relieve the sufferings of the patient, even pulverized precious stones and gold were administered to him. Muratori, on that subject, remarks: "This good pope, then, was surrounded either by stupid physicians or culpable ministers." The pope soon sank under the violence of his sufferings, and died on the 15th of October, 1591, at the age of fifty-six. He had governed ten months and ten days. He was interred in the Vatican, towards the middle of the Gregorian Chapel, near Gregory XIII, in a tomb almost destitute of ornament.

This pontiff, although he yielded to nepotism, was distinguished for his noble virtues. During his short pontificate he expended considerable sums in favor of the poor. Some of his ministers did not serve him with that sentiment of obedience which a minister ought never to forget. During a scarcity the pope himself was left to see personally to the care of obtaining a supply of grain. A great number of people in Rome and the vicinity died, nevertheless, in consequence of that scarcity. Gregory personally visited the sick, and only consented to take a little nourishment after he had assisted those who were on the point of sinking under so much suffering.

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All admired his constancy, his piety, his temperance, and a fund of moral purity, which had made him remarkable from the period of his being created a bishop. Little inclined to interfere in foreign politics, he unfortunately listened, sometimes, too trustingly to Philip II, who was the avowed enemy of Henry IV of France. The bull which was issued against the latter prince, who was already prepared to learn and to profess our holy religion, retarded the success of that difficult negotiation. Threats were the least likely of all means to succeed with Henry IV.

The Holy See was vacant thirteen days.

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INNOCENT IX—A.D. 1591

INNOCENT IX was previously named Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti. He was born on the 20th of July, 1519, at Bologna, of a senatorial family, native of Novara. After receiving the grade of doctor, Giovanni Antonio set out for Rome, where he became secretary to Cardinal Ardinghelli. Subsequently he was governor of Parma and Bishop of Nicastro, in Calabria. In 1561 he went to the Council of Trent. Gregory XIII named him cardinal on the 12th of December, 1583. After the funeral ceremonies of Pope Gregory XIV, fifty-six cardinals met in conclave, and on the 29th of October, 1591, they elected, in open ballot, Cardinal Facchinetti, who was then seventy-two years of age. He took the name of Innocent IX, in memory of Innocent III, a famous jurisconsult, and was privately crowned on the 3d of November in the same year. On the

8th of that month he went, mounted on a white mule, to take possession of Saint John Lateran.

Faithful to ancient custom, the pope announced the news of his exaltation to the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops.

He immediately confirmed the bull of Saint Pius V which forbade the alienation of the territories of the Roman Church.

Then a scarcity occurred; and the pestilence, though weaker, still continued its ravages. The pope caused the price of bread to be lowered, and distributed relief to the poor. To meet this, he preferred to borrow forty thousand crowns rather than touch the treasure left by Sixtus V in the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Innocent said that it was useful that a treasure should remain in Rome, at the disposal of the Christian republic. Cardinal Gaetani having solicited the pardon of John Anthony Orsini with a sum of money as the price of that pardon, the pope was indignant, and replied: "We require not money, but obedience." From all circumstances it has been concluded that if the reign of Innocent had been longer it would have been a happy one. The Romans agreed in recognizing, in this pope, a matured wisdom, a pure life, liberality, magnificence, and experience in business.

On the 30th of December, 1591, he fell dangerously ill, and died, having governed the Church only a little more than two months.

Rome then had to bewail the loss of three sovereign pontiffs in less than sixteen months after the death of Sixtus V.

Innocent IX was removed from Monte Cavallo to the Vatican, where his ashes repose in the subterranean church.

He had a handsome countenance and a lofty stature. Fasting, however, had injured his health. It was his custom

CLEMENS ▲ VIII ▲ FLORENTINVS

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to eat only once a day, and in the evening. Among his effects was found a small mirror, divided into two parts; upon the one was painted a death's head, and upon the other a funeral procession. It was thus that he reminded himself of death, for which he daily accustomed himself by looking at that mirror.

The Holy See remained vacant one month.

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CLEMENT VIII—A.D. 1592

CLEMENT VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini), of a very illustrious Florentine family, was born on the 24th of February, 1535, in the city of Fano, where his father, Sylvester Aldobrandini, was pontifical governor, having been driven from Florence, where he had been secretary of state, by the enmity of Duke Alexander de' Medici. Ippolito studied jurisprudence and took the degree of doctor. At an early age he excelled in Greek and Latin poetry. At Rome he became consistorial auditor. Sixtus V —and it was a striking mark of confidence—made him datary on the 17th of May, 1585. On the 18th of December of the same year, the pope created Ippolito cardinal, and sent him as legate to Poland to solicit the liberation of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, who was held prisoner by the Poles. The Holy See never ceases to take an interest in the sufferings of the unfortunate. The nuncio succeeded in his mission, and restored peace between Austria and Sigismund, who had succeeded Stephen Bathori.

After the funeral of Innocent IX, fifty-two electors entered into conclave on the 10th of January, 1592. In this conclave several parties arose: on the one side, the Montaltists, headed by Cardinal Montalto, nephew of Pope Sixtus V; and on the other side, the Spanish party. The latter showed a preference for Cardinal Santorio, who, on the 11th, was on the point of being elected by adoration. Thirty-five of the electors had given their votes; but Cardinals Altemps, Gesualdi, and Colonna put a stop to the tumult which for several hours prevailed in the chapel. They constrained those who were clamoring for the adoration to consent to the ballot. Here Santorio, a fanatical partisan of the Spanish faction, had no more than thirty votes—five too few. But Providence had decreed the tiara to Aldobrandini. A single cardinal was here seen to exercise a sort of power of exclusion. Cancellieri thus relates the fact: "The cardinals were divided into two parties. Ascanius Colonna, desiring the elevation of Santorio, cardinal of San Severino, wished the electors to proceed by way of adoration. The excitement of the two parties was so intense that the Spanish party shut themselves up in the hall of scrutiny, while the other party retired to the Pauline chapel, and everything seemed to menace scenes of violence. The tumult was such that the senior cardinals could not count the votes, which at that instant were sufficient—thirty-five. Ascanius received a slip of paper from his relative, Mark Antony Colonna. Ascanius read it, and exclaimed: 'Ascanius will not have San Severino for pope, because he is not the choice of God.' And he rushed from the chapel, in spite of the efforts of the other cardinals to detain him. The effect of this renunciation was so rapid that Santorio (San Severino) was at once excluded by a very great number of votes. Other candidates were proposed, but rejected. A cardinal sud-

denly named Aldobrandini. He was accepted with acclamation, and elected at noon, on the 19th of January, 1592.

"The electors had been impelled towards that choice, not only by the esteem in which they held Cardinal Aldobrandini, but also from his being only fifty-six years old; for all the cardinals observed that they had had to deplore the death of three pontiffs whose united reigns had occupied only sixteen months."

Before accepting the dignity, which he had not contemplated, Aldobrandini demanded permission to approach the altar. Yielding to an impulse of sublime humility, he said, with an emotion that excited universal enthusiasm: "O my God! let my tongue dry up, that I may not consent to this election, unless it be for the good of thy Church, which I love from the very bottom of my heart, and of Christendom, whose glory and prosperity I desire." This admirable manifestation of modesty greatly impressed the cardinals. They sent for the pontifical vestments. They almost forcibly seized the cardinal and attired him. He kept silence, but, when he saw them remove his red cassock, which he was never to see again, he exclaimed: "Give us back our beads and the office of the Blessed Virgin, which are the witnesses of our devotion." Aldobrandini could no longer withhold his consent, as he had used the papal first person plural: "Give us back our beads"; and he declared that he would take the name of Clement VIII. The name had once been given him by Saint Philip Neri, who predicted that he would one day become pope. On the 2d of February the pope was ordained bishop by Cardinal Alphonsus Gesualdi, dean of the Sacred College, and then crowned by Cardinal Sforza, first deacon; and on the 12th of April he solemnly took possession of Saint John Lateran. Clement made the distribu-

tion (presbyterium) of the pieces of gold and silver, that had not been made for some time previously.

When the pope had regulated some urgently important matters, he established a congregation under the title of The Visitation. It was to examine, in detail, all the churches, monasteries, colleges, hospitals, and brotherhoods of Rome. The first visit was made to Saint John Lateran, so that the example should strike all the administrators and warn them to bring under better regulation the affairs intrusted to them. On all sides divine worship was restored, and a strict decorum was re-established; abuses were corrected; the eye of the master was everywhere, and every subaltern knew it. The guardian was ever there, watchful, and determined to maintain order. Every one could make his complaint. There are many other countries where such visitations would be permanently useful. It is not easy to say how much could be profitably borrowed from Rome in the way of wholesome customs.

The constitution Graves et Diuturnas, of the 25th of November, 1592, instituted the exposition named of the Forty Hours in all the churches of Rome, so that the Holy Sacrament should be exposed day and night on every day in the year.

This pious institution, which Paul V renewed, by granting a great number of indulgences, on the 10th of May, 1606, was adopted in many cities, not only in Italy, but in many other nations. Moreover, it had been already known in many churches of the first order.

Two sons of the Elector of Bavaria at this time visited Rome, to offer, in the name of their father, their veneration to Pope Clement. The pontiff received them with tender affection, and in a consistory seated them next to the cardinals.

At this time died Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, one of the most famous captains of his time, who had commanded armies against Henry IV, King of France. Clement bewailed Farnese, and ordered magnificent funeral ceremonies for him in the Vatican Basilica.

The pontiff was also much afflicted by the death of Alphonsus Gonzaga, lord of Castelgiufredo, which was under the pontifical protection.

The fatal custom of duelling, somewhat abated since the Council of Trent, again required the attention of the pope. Clement forbade those combats, under the severest penalties, by his constitution thirty, of the 17th of August, 1592, requiring duellists and seconds to be prosecuted. He also threatened to lay under interdict any places which by their law authorized or even tolerated duelling. He exhorted princes to enforce the execution of the measures prescribed by that bull, and severely to punish delinquents. Many sovereigns promised to put in practice, as far as they had power, those wise instructions; for at that time, in the habits of the people and in some remnants of the feudal law, there were obstacles that only religion could overcome.

About the year 1586 Sixtus V had erected into a religious order the Hospitallers, known as the Fate bene Fratelli. Clement, in 1592, restored the order to the position it held under the reign of Pius V, so that it no longer was a religious order.

Clement's brief for the suppression was accepted in Italy, but not in Spain, where Philip II refused to give it the royal exequatur. The same occurred in Russia, in 1763, at the suppression of the Jesuits by the brief of Clement XIV. But this state of things did not last. Paul V, by two briefs, in 1611 and 1617, restored them to the dignity of a religious order, and inferred that the Spanish members had not ceased

to be religious, although the brief of Clement VIII had not been received in Spain.

Meanwhile, the Holy Father, by letters of the 15th of April, 1592, commanded his legate to the League of Paris, Cardinal Philip Sega, to watch that the faith did not suffer in France, which had recognized a king who was still a Calvinist. On the other hand, Henry, gently urged by the Roman court, with all the delicacy that such circumstances required, and seeing that he could not easily hold the throne of France if he persisted in the errors of Calvinism, asked his Huguenot ministers if he could be saved in the event of his becoming a Catholic. They replied affirmatively. Then he said to them: "Certainly, then, it will be better that I shall go to heaven as King of France than only as King of Navarre." From that moment the prince received instructions in the dogmas of our religion from David du Perron, a former Calvinist, but sincerely converted to the faith.

The particulars of the negotiation tending to restore Henry to the bosom of the Church naturally find their place here.

We have already mentioned that a French agent, Arnaud d'Ossat, employed in the French king's embassy at Rome, had solicited from Pope Gregory XIV, on behalf of Louise of Lorraine, widow of Henry III, that solemn obsequies should be performed in honor of that prince, and that thus the excommunication should be revoked which had been pronounced against him by Sixtus V.

The papal absolution of King Henry IV "was thwarted," says D'Ossat, "by the Duke of Sesso, the Spanish ambassador, and by the Lorraine princes." The French Huguenots themselves, much attached as they were to Henry IV, whom they had assisted with both sword and purse, did not desire his reconciliation with the Holy See.

Henry IV, whose sincerity was beyond all doubt, attentively read D'Ossat's correspondence, which exposed all the difficulty, and he deemed it so prudent and judicious that he wrote to D'Ossat, announcing the departure of the Duke of Nevers for Rome, and requesting D'Ossat to act in concert with him.

Clement VIII congratulated D'Ossat, and told him that he should be pleased to treat with him, and that the selection of such a plenipotentiary could not but increase the favorable disposition of the Roman court. Meantime the king's ministry at Paris imagined that the French prelates could give absolution to the king at Paris, subject to the authority of the Holy Apostolic See.

The cardinal of Piacenza, legate in France, endeavored to prevent such an invalid absolution by a letter which he addressed to all the Catholics of the kingdom. In that letter the cardinal stated that Henry of Bourbon, who styles himself King of France and Navarre, having called upon the French prelates to give him absolution, the legate believes it to be his duty to announce that the excommunication pronounced by Sixtus V against Henry is and still remains effectual, and that the sovereign pontiff Clement alone can absolve the king from it.

Notwithstanding this notice, Henry IV allowed himself to be persuaded that he could make his abjuration in the hands of the Archbishop of Bourges, in the presence of Cardinal de Bourbon Vendôme and of seven or eight bishops. Chancellor de Chiverny says that the king determined to perform the ceremony in the abbey church of Saint Denis, in testimony that he desired to live and die, like the kings who are buried there, in the bosom of the Roman Church. As to the absolution, the archbishop pronounced it in these terms: "Saving the authority of the Holy See, I absolve thee

from the crime of heresy and apostasy; I restore thee to the Holy Roman Church, and admit thee to her sacraments. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." According to this condition, the king was still in need of the absolution of the pope, or, at the least, the confirmation of that of the bishops.

Henry had not yet subjected Paris and was in a really dangerous position. Commanding a mixed army of Catholics and Protestants, he was closely watched by both parties. As he passed in front of his guards, he saw a crowd of those Protestants who had been mutilated in his service, and who looked upon him with a respect that was mingled with grief and compassion, perhaps, and even with something of menace. On entering his council, he saw Rosny, with his stern brow, and ardent Catholics who were unwilling to be disappointed in their hopes, and who were ready to desert a sovereign whom they supposed to be uncertain in his plans. He had promised that he would believe as they did; and they awaited, but with no great confidence, the fulfilment of that promise. A third party consisted of friends, both Catholic and Protestant, of the Duchess of Beaufort's faction, who knew not what to advise. By turns they blamed or applauded. Their sole view was to favor the king's passion for a woman who already aspired to share his throne. In such circumstances, a warrior who knew how devotedly the Calvinists had shed their blood for him, a prince whose line had so long aspired to the French sceptre, and who now saw the day come on which he could, as of right, wear a crown which belonged to him, and return into the religion in which he had been reared, and which he had only abandoned on compulsion, and at an age when strength and courage are not yet fully developed; a man—and here he is only a man to be pitied—carried away by a frantic love which

he knew not how to control, and who feared the austerity of Rome, as it was necessary to bend her and solicit a divorce, with the secret intention of a misalliance, which made it all the more difficult—a man thus distracted might well be inconsistent.

Clement VIII was aware of, but disapproved, the step intended to be taken by the archbishop and bishops assembled at Saint Denis.

A truce had been entered into, in order to suspend hostilities; but the Spanish and the Leaguers were for preventing the people from leaving Paris for Saint Denis. In spite of that prohibition, a great number of the citizens contrived, by urgency and entreaty, to pass the guard, and quite a multitude of Parisians reached the king, whom they loudly applauded as he passed.

D'Ossat having reported to the pope the feeling in France on the king's conversion, another negotiation commenced, more serious than the first.

D'Ossat represented that the reduction of Paris had become more easy and more probable; that the French bishops appeared to have rendered a service to the kingdom and to the king, without offending the pope, who definitively had the sovereign authority in the matter of absolution. At the same time Spain insisted that Clement should meet the king's request with a direct refusal, and the language of the Spanish ambassador was so unmeasured as to give serious offence to the Holy See.

Clement would not refuse audiences to D'Ossat, whom the Italians loved, because, as they said, he was "fertile in expedients." But the negotiation lasted several months.

Meantime Paris had recognized the King of France. The 22d of March, 1594, was a holiday for almost the entire kingdom; and by the effect of a singular state of the public

mind, the king's council did not so firmly press the request that had so long before been presented at Rome. Some of the ministers had raised the dangerous cry: "Let us temporize! Spain has too much power at the Vatican; let us await another reign in Rome!" That wish became known to the Sacred College. D'Ossat thought it his duty to oppose that opinion, and wrote to Henry on the 23d of December. He commenced by agreeing with those who anticipated the death of the pope; and he then declared that that expectation, too much prolonged, was of no advantage to the interests of the king, and he showed how all would have to be begun anew with a new pontiff.

An animated correspondence ensued between the king and D'Ossat. The latter also kept in constant communication with the pope's nephew, Cardinal Aldobrandini, a man greatly distinguished for his intellect. Though scarcely twenty-four years of age, he had obtained the entire confidence of his uncle. D'Ossat having asked permission from Clement VIII to communicate the general state of affairs to that nephew, the pope replied: "Tell him everything, even to what we have said in this audience." Thus the French minister on this occasion found an opportunity to repeat and strengthen all that he had before said, and he gathered the replies which, though substantially the same, yet often allowed admissions or concealments to be sufficiently visible to give the negotiator the advantage.

Cardinal Delfino, minister from Venice to Rome during the years 1596, 1597, and 1598, spoke thus of Cardinal Aldobrandini: "He is of a most noble nature, and amiable and graceful as can be imagined. We may add that he was very amiable and thoroughly to be relied upon."

However, there was one point upon which Aldobrandini, with all his elegance, and D'Ossat, with all his zeal, could

not come to an agreement. Clement, in measured and paternal tones, had expressed his opinion upon the absolution pronounced by the French archbishop and bishops. Aldobrandini, with all the forms of the most exquisite politeness, explained the consequences of that act of the French episcopate. The pope must needs treat as a nullity the absolution given by the bishops of France, who, according to the laws of Rome, had no authority to revoke, or even to moderate or interpret, the judgments and censures of the Holy See. It was said at Rome that nothing like that procedure of the French bishops had ever before been witnessed, where, in a single morning, instruction, conversion, satisfaction, penance, and absolution had been hurried through simultaneously. That was the reason why the pope and Aldobrandini made no reply when D'Ossat, a good servant and somewhat exacting Frenchman, spoke so much about the Catholicism of the king and his inflexible determination to live and die in the apostolical Roman Catholic religion.

Meanwhile Seraphin Olivier, auditor of the Rota, an able and courageous personage, said one day very bluntly to the pope: "Most Holy Father, permit me to tell you that Clement VII lost England through being too complaisant to Charles V, and that Clement VIII will lose France if he continue to be too complaisant to Philip II."

A suspicion was felt by the Council of Paris, from the idea that it was sought to impose humiliating terms upon the king.

At length Davy du Perron, bishop-elect of Evreux, was sent to act, in conjunction with D'Ossat, as proxy of His Majesty in the great ceremony of the absolution.

D'Ossat, who at first singly conducted that negotiation, had acted so ably that when Du Perron arrived he had little more to do than to reap the fruits.

After several conciliatory proceedings, which were approved by the pope, Du Perron and D'Ossat, on the 30th of June, 1595, presented a formal application to His Holiness.

It is true that he treated with two personages of singular integrity in business, and who preserved that reputation during their whole lives.

"The Holy Father," says D'Ossat, "on Wednesday, the 2d of August, summoned all the cardinals to a general congregation, and called their attention to the said business, informing them of all that had been done in it from the commencement of his pontificate. He pointed out all the severities which he had used concerning it, and how ineffectual such severities had been, seeing that the king had still prospered and established himself in the kingdom, notwithstanding all the resistance that could be opposed to him. His Holiness proceeded to state that at length he had informed Cardinal de Gondi that His Holiness would give audience to any new envoy from the Most Christian King, and that thereupon the king had sent M. du Perron as the bearer of two letters from His Majesty, one of which was in his own handwriting and explained his request. His Holiness urged that this was the most important business that the Holy See had had before it in several centuries; and His Holiness begged, prayed, and exhorted those assembled princes of the Church to consider it well, and to lay aside all human passion and interest, and to have no thought but for the honor of God, the preservation and extension of the Catholic faith, and the common benefit of all Christendom. His Holiness reminded them that in this instance they had not to deal with the case of a private man detained in prison, but with that of a very great and most potent prince, commanding armies and many people, and that they ought to consider less that prince himself than that whole great king-

dom which followed and depended upon him, and not to be as strict in absolving from censures as in absolving from sins. The pope added that in four or five days from that time he would separately consult each of the cardinals, in their rank and order, so that in his own chamber he might have the true opinion and best advice of each of them; and he desired that they would all be prepared.

"On the following Monday, the 7th of August, the pope began to hear the opinions of the said lords cardinals, and partly on account of the slowness which is natural to Rome, and partly because His Holiness could not neglect the general business of that court, he did not finish hearing them until Wednesday, the 23d of that month. More than three fourths of the cardinals were of opinion that His Holiness should give the absolution. In the week which has elapsed since the pope finished hearing the said opinions, we have solicited and treated upon the conditions of the future absolution, and have come to agreement upon the same. At the least, we have said to them, and guaranteed in writing, all that we could grant them, without reserving anything to ourselves, and we have declared that we could add no more. It would seem that they require more, but more they will not have from us; and we require that the business should be ended without delay, as we entreated of the Holy Father in the third audience given to us by His Holiness, on Monday, the 28th day of this month. We then made him, in person, the above declaration, that we could add nothing to the conditions by us previously conceded. Accordingly, to-day, the 30th of August, His Holiness held a consistory, in which he declared to the cardinals that, having collected their votes, he found that nearly all were in favor of granting the absolution, and accordingly he had determined to give it, and had already consulted with the proxies as to their condi-

tions, the principal and most important of which they had heard from him; adding that he would endeavor to obtain more if possible, and what he could not obtain at present he would endeavor subsequently to obtain by means of a legate whom he would send, and by means of nuncios whom he would keep near the king, and by the ambassadors from His Majesty. It now remains for us to sign the above-mentioned conditions and promises, and for His Holiness to make and publish the decree of the absolution.

"Meantime there is great eagerness to draw up the form of the abjuration and confession of faith that we shall have to make here in the name of the king; and the form of the bull of absolution, of which we are to have a copy, and on which nothing is to be done without previous consultation with us. That done, His Holiness will publicly perform the solemnity of the said abjuration and confession of faith, and of the absolution which will govern with reference to it, and of the same tenor. And we have the hope, almost the certainty, that that will occur on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady, the 8th of next month, and that the same bull, signed and sealed, will be conveyed to the king and published in France and in all Christendom.

"The Spanish ambassador (the Duke of Sessa) has always persisted in maintaining the king to be impenitent, and that he should on no account be absolved; and in the meantime he has a great number of venal tools who have privately aided him, by urging all sorts of pretexts on which the absolution might be denied altogether, or deferred as long as possible.

"Now, the more malignant spirits endeavored to prevent or postpone so great a benefit, the more our Holy Father has caused public or private prayer to be offered up by all good people in Rome, and the more he has himself been assiduous

in prayer and in the invocation of the grace and inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Besides his customary devotions, which at all times are great, on Saturday, the 5th of this month, the feast of the dedication of Saint Mary's of the Snows, accompanied by a small number of servants, both he and they being barefooted, he went at daybreak from his palace of Monte Cavallo to Saint Mary Major, where he prayed at great length. He returned thence, still barefooted, to his palace, weeping, with downcast face, without giving his benediction or looking at any one. And on the day of the Assumption of Our Lady, the 15th of the month, he returned at the same hour to the above-mentioned church, barefooted, and again prayed earnestly, and, still barefooted, said Mass; and then he held the chapel of that day, attended by the cardinals in state, whom he awaited there more than two hours after finishing his devotions. And, as he daily makes some new demonstration of his devotion and piety, so, in the audience that we had of His Holiness on the 28th of the month, he gave us a very great and distinguished testimony of his esteem for the king and kingdom of France, and of his paternal affection for both, as will be declared to you at more secure time and place."

Here we may usefully give some details upon the ceremony of the absolution.

A scaffolding was erected on Saint Peter's Square, on which was placed a very lofty throne for the pope; and all the cardinals took their places below him. The ceremony was commenced by the reading of a decree of His Holiness. The pope approved and confirmed all the acts of religion that had followed the absolution of Saint Denis. The request of the king was then read that had been presented by Du Perron and D'Ossat, who were then introduced. Kneeling, they abjured the errors of Calvinism in the usual form.

Then the conditions of the absolution were read. Especial stress was laid upon a peace to be concluded with Spain; after which Du Perron and D'Ossat, in the name of the king, promised, upon the holy Gospels, that he would persevere in the Apostolic Roman Catholic faith. They were then conducted to the foot of the throne of His Holiness, where, again kneeling, with downcast eyes and bowed heads, they recited the Psalm Miserere. At each verse the pope, having in his hand a long and slender wand, like those which the Romans termed Vindicta, and used for the enfranchisement of slaves, slightly touched with that wand the ministers of the king, as was the custom of the Church, to signify that Christian liberty was restored to those who had been in the bonds of censure.

Then the pope rose, and having, with uncovered head, recited the usual prayers, resumed his tiara, and, seating himself upon his throne, he raised his voice and declared that, by the authority of the Almighty, by that of the blessed apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and by his own, he gave to Henry of Bourbon, King of France, absolution from the ecclesiastical censures incurred by reason of heresy. Then the pope gave his benediction to the ministers of the king, and said to them: "You will make known to the king your master that we have opened to him the gate of the Church militant here on earth, and that it is for himself, by a lively faith and by works of piety, hereafter to enter into the Church triumphant in heaven." Then, by order of the pope, the hitherto closed doors of the church were thrown open, and the cardinal of San Severino, grand penitentiary, conducted the French envoys to the church, where the Te Deum was sung amidst a great concourse of all orders of the people. Cardinal de Joyeuse then couducted them to the Church of Saint Louis, the national church of the French, where the

Te Deum was again sung with an equally numerous concourse, and William d'Avanson, Archbishop of Embrun, celebrated the Mass. In the afternoon the Te Deum was sung the third time at the Trinita dei Monti, a convent of the French Minims, where the Bishop of Lisieux officiated. All the prelates and the gentlemen who were subjects of the king, and even a great number of Roman prelates and gentlemen, followed by an immense crowd, were present at the religious acts of that day. The king was prayed for in all the churches, and the Te Deum was sung.

For three days there were fireworks and illuminations at Rome, in token of rejoicing, the Spaniards alone standing aloof. The popular joy evinced on this occasion was the more humiliating to the enemies of the king, because it especially proceeded from the attachment of the people for Henry IV. For, not only were the arms of France seen upon many houses, but even the poorest people bought Henry's portrait, which had recently been engraved, and which was fixed upon the walls amidst cries of "Vive le Roi de France, who is restored to us!" In brief, all were eager to give tokens of affection for Henry IV, and of joy at his reconciliation to the Holy See.

Bonanni, treating of the pontifical medals of this reign, gives the following details upon the ceremony of the absolution:

"Sixtus V disapproved of the actions of Henry, King of Navarre. As that pontiff was of warm temper and was not timid towards offenders, he launched his anathema, in 1585, against Henry, as a heretic and the patron of heretics. Gregory XIV, in 1591, ordered the archbishops and bishops of France and all the members of the clergy to break off all relations with the same Henry. Subsequently Clement VIII made every effort to save the Church of France. He loved

that Church, so celebrated for its antiquity, its sanctity, and its knowledge, and he assiduously prayed for it. According to Baronius, he unceasingly and with tears entreated God on behalf of that Church. And that France, daughter of the Clementine tears, saw that Church flourish in tenderness, in piety, and in veritable love, under Henry IV and his son. Clement had warned the confederates that they were to recognize rights to the crown of France only in a Catholic prince.

"In the midst of these perturbations, Henry, struck by the divine light and by the arguments of the Apostolic Church, was instructed in her dogmas, learned to detest errors, and professed in Saint Denis the Roman religion, which was that of the holy kings of France.

"He successively sent, to ask absolution in his name, Peter de Gondi and the Marquis de Pisani. Clement would not listen to either of them. Then Henry sent the Duke of Nevers, who succeeded in discovering in Clement an inclination towards pardon. Subsequently Du Perron and D'Ossat renewed the attempts. They affirmed that Henry from the bottom of his heart had renounced all his previous errors. Saint Philip Neri interposed and zealously supported the efforts of the king. On the 20th of December, 1595 [this should be August 30, 1595], Clement, in consistory, declared that he had collected the opinions of all the cardinals, and that a great portion of them inclined to the reconciliation. The king's agents were treated with; the Saint Denis absolution was declared null and void. The king was to abjure again in the presence of a legate. The Prince de Condé was to be recalled from Rochelle and reared at Paris, as presumptive heir to the king. The Catholic religion was to be re-established in Béarn. The Council of Trent was to be published and observed. Finally, the king was to notify all the Catholic princes of his conversion."

Bonanni subsequently says that the two agents, taken before the pope, pronounced the abjuration—Du Perron aloud, and D'Ossat in a lower tone. They swore upon the Gospels of God, which were placed before them, and Don Cosmas de Angelis then read the decree of absolution. Then the pope, with mitre on head, recited the Psalm Miserere, and at each verse touched the heads of the king's agents (the wand is not mentioned). All was conducted in the pontifical form, but in that form the wand called the Vindicta is concerned.

When the doors of Saint Peter's were thrown open, the Cardinal San Severino said to the king's two envoys: "Enter, O you whom your king has empowered to act for him, enter into the Church of God; recognize that he inconsiderately departed from it, and that he has escaped from the bonds of death; let all hold heretical depravity in horror, and adore Almighty God!"

Bonanni subsequently relates that letters from Henry testified to his lively gratitude to the pope; and Henry, in his own letters, speaks of his intention to go to Rome to return thanks in person.

In commemoration of those events a granite column was set up in front of the Church of Saint Anthony the Abbot, near Saint Mary Major.

The pope, in addition to all the demonstrations of joy permitted at Rome, struck a medal, with his own head on one side, and that of Henry IV on the other.

On this occasion, also, the king gave the cardinals the title of cousin. Till then he addressed them only as "dear friend."

The League from that moment was destroyed and was no longer mentioned.

At the same time the pope, considering that Henry had no children by Margaret of Valois (daughter of Henry II, and

sister of the three last kings of France, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III), to whom the young King of Navarre had been married by force, ordered the delicate circumstances of the case to be carefully examined; and at length complied with the entreaties of the king, who subsequently applied for a divorce, that he might be enabled to marry Mary de' Medici, daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Previous to the absolution, two fanatics, Peter Barriere and John Chatel, attempted the king's life. The enemies of the Jesuits did not neglect that opportunity to tell the prince that those religious had incited the assassins to that crime, the assassins being recognized as having studied in the schools of the society. The Jesuits were expelled from the kingdom; but Clement, who yielded to no one in esteem and good will of the society (as he himself wrote to the Archbishop of Lima), so urgently pressed the monarch, who did not share the error of a part of his council, that the Fathers were recalled to the kingdom and their colleges. Subsequently, in 1604, in spite of the representations of the Parliament, the prince gave them the magnificent college of La Flèche, where, in token of his affection, his last will ordered his heart to be deposited.

On the subject of the Jesuits, the king was accustomed to say: "I observe that two classes of persons are opposed to their return: first, the partisans of the Reformation, that is to say, the Huguenots; and ecclesiastics whose life is not very edifying."

The barefooted Carmelites having been instituted in 1562 by Saint Teresa, assisted by Saint John of the Cross, Gregory XIII approved the reform on the 22d of June, 1580, and separated them from the Great Carmelites. Clement completed the separation, and included the barefooted Carmelites among the mendicant orders.

In a promotion of cardinals, Clement gave the purple to two of his nephews.

The missionaries sent to distant countries had not discontinued their holy labors. The Patriarch of Alexandria, stimulated by the exhortations of missionaries, sent to Rome two Egyptian ambassadors, who were received with honors by the pope. At his feet they made their profession of faith, abjuring the errors of the Greek sect on the procession of the Holy Ghost and on the repetition of baptism. They admitted seven sacraments, and declared that they received the first Council of Nice, the first and second councils of Constantinople, and those of Ephesus and Chalcedon; they reprobated the Eutychian heresy; and finally, in the name of their patriarch, they acknowledged the primacy of Rome, received the councils of Florence and Trent, and earnestly entreated the pope to unite the churches of Egypt to the Apostolic Church. The Holy Father sent those ambassadors home filled with joy, giving them rich presents and holy relics.

The sufferings of the Catholics of Mount Lebanon were from time to time made known at Rome by monks who visited there, and Clement intrusted an important mission to the Jesuits Dandini and Bruno, who were directed to visit in that distant part such Catholics as recognized the Holy See, and to present them with various gifts in money, church plate, books, vestments, and a pontifical, intended for the patriarch. The arrival of those Jesuits was joyfully greeted on the mountain, "and the ancient cedars shook with joy."

In 1596 there was a great promotion of cardinals, among whom were: (1) Anne des Cars de Givry, of the counts of Limoges, and related to the royal house of France, who had several times been ambassador to Rome from the princes of the Valois branch,—Saussay has included him in the Galli-

can Martyrology; (2) Camillo Borghese, who became pontiff in 1605, under the name of Paul V; (3) Cæsar Baronius, born of an honorable family at Sora, and sent at an early age to Rome, where he placed himself under the direction of Saint Philip, in his congregation of the Oratory. There, by order of that saint, he composed that immortal work, the Ecclesiastical Annals, which obtained him the surname of the Father of Ecclesiastical History. That noble and learned personage, after eloquently preaching in the churches of the Florentines, of the Charity, and of the Vallicella, was named Librarian of the Holy Church. In 1605, in the conclave which elected Paul V, Baronius would have been made pope, there being thirty-five votes for him, but that his humility and his eloquence turned the electors from their determination. He begged so earnestly and spoke so eloquently that he succeeded in preventing his own election.

One of the most glorious works of the pontificate of Clement VIII was, doubtless, the union of the duchy of Ferrara to the States of the Holy See. Duke Alphonsus II of Este, being without legitimate heir, asked Gregory XIV for permission to bequeath the principality to some of his relations of the house of Este, and it is said that Gregory XIV made no very great resistance. Alphonsus dying on the 27th of October, 1597, it was found that he had left a will by which he named as his heir Cæsar d'Este, a distant relation; and Cæsar, with the favor of the emperor, caused himself to be crowned Duke of Ferrara. It was thought that Clement would consent, but while he was still a cardinal, he, as strongly as was consistent with respect, opposed the concession that had been asked from Gregory. Now that he had become pope, Clement acted in concert with Henry IV. That prince declared that Ferrara was a dependency of the exarchate of

Ravenna, formerly given to the popes by Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious. In consequence, Clement, assured of his right and of a powerful support, would not recognize Cæsar d'Este. On these grounds, enumerated in the Bullarium Romanum, he declared that the duchy had reverted to the Holy See. He fulminated serious penalties to deter the usurper from taking possession; and having levied an army, he gave the command of it to his nephew Peter Aldobrandini, with orders to resist the pretensions of Cæsar. The latter, already Duke of Modena and Reggio, and confident of obtaining from the Holy See the rights enjoyed by Alphonsus, at once renounced his pretensions, and the papal army occupied Ferrara on the 24th of January, 1598. Clement, by the bull Sanctissimus, declared the duchy of Ferrara restored to the Holy See, because, in addition to all other reasons, by the terms of a constitution of Saint Pius V it was forbidden to alienate the property of the Church. The duchy was attributed in perpetuity to the patronage of the holy apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. But the pope granted to the duchy of Ferrara the right to keep an ambassador at Rome, with the same privileges as all the other members of the diplomatic body.

A dispute then arose between the Ferrarese ambassador and the ambassador of Bologna as to precedence. Each wished to precede the other in the ceremonies of the papal chapel. Clement ordered that they should only attend there alternately, and never together, so that the question of precedence was forever undecided between them.

Clement next determined to give his subjects the benefit of his presence. He left at Rome, as legate and vice-pontiff, Cardinal Innico Avalos, of Aragon, and set out to take possession of the duchy, attended by twenty-seven cardinals and by a large number of prelates. According to ancient custom,

a priest bore in front of the pope the Most Holy Sacrament, in a costly shrine, under a rich canopy of cloth of gold. The Ferrarese received some privileges; an imposing citadel was erected, and the pope returned to Rome with the blessings of all his subjects.

He had returned to the city only three days, when, on the 23d of December, the Tiber furiously overflowed its banks, and a great number of persons perished in the fields. A bridge, serving as a dam, was constructed between Rieti and Terni, so that the waters could not again accumulate so disastrously to the citizens of Rome.

This year, 1598, is famous. Philip II died on the 13th of September, and about the month of October an agent of Rosny procured the last will of that prince, or, rather, the copy of the discourse or treatise which, when dying, he addressed to his son.

At the time of the unexpected publication of this confession, France was beginning to be strong; and for her this document was in effect a series of historical lessons, and a warning, more or less essential, as to the measures that Spain would adopt in the pursuit of her own interest. But Rome found in that communication most important information and caution; she could beware, without risking anything in investigations uncertain of success. She could warily make inquiries and researches around herself, and thenceforth more completely understand her position, and weigh and measure the perils that threatened her, and the trials of attacks and meddlings which were to torment the wise Clement VIII, and, by associating the Roman policy with violences useful in other countries, deprive him in his own capital of that peace which he so much desired to secure to every country in the world.

The Protestants complained to Henry IV about some ad-

ministrative embarrassments which had affected them, and of which Henry had been unaware.

The Edict of Nantes was published. On occasion of that publication, the Holy Father addressed to all the bishops of France the constitution Dives in misericordia sua Deus. He exhorted them to propagate the increase of the Catholic faith, the observance of ecclesiastical discipline, and the extirpation of vice, especially in the cities to which the exercise of the Catholic religion was restored.

On the 3d of March, 1599, in a very numerous promotion of cardinals, the pope gave the purple to Arnaud d'Ossat.

In the same promotion the purple was granted to Robert Bellarmine, a noble Tuscan of Montepulciano, nephew of Marcellus II by his mother Cynthia Cervini. That Jesuit, celebrated by his lectures in the schools and by his Latin sermons against the errors of Lutheranism, had so high a reputation that Protestants from England and Holland travelled to Italy for the purpose of hearing him. He was named professor in the Roman college founded by Gregory XIII. Sixtus V assigned him as theologian to Cardinal Gaetani, legate in France; and Gregory XIV appointed him as one of the seven learned persons to revise the edition of the Vulgate published under Sixtus V and corrected under Clement VIII. On the death of the Jesuit Cardinal Toledo, the pope named Bellarmine his theologian, consulter of the Holy Office, examiner of the bishops, and finally, as we have just shown, promoted him to the purple. In the allocution to the consistory, Clement expressed himself thus: "We select Father Bellarmine because he has not his equal in the Church in learning."

Bellarmine died at Rome in the novitiate of the Jesuits, where he was visited by Gregory XV. On the death of Leo XI, Bellarmine would have been pope, if he had not, with sin-

cere firmness, opposed his own election. The cardinals could not resist so formal and so sublime a renunciation of the highest dignity within the reach of man.

Under Clement VIII, in 1599, took place the trial of the celebrated Beatrice Cenci, accused of having, with her stepmother Lucretia, murdered her father. The whole city of Rome, in consequence of the beauty of that young Roman lady, and still more on account of some doubts which arose on the trial, as well as of the horrible charges brought against the father, were upon the very point of pardoning her, when a Roman lord was guilty of the disgraceful crime of matricide. That fresh abomination aroused the indignation of the pope. He summoned Monsignor Taverna, the governor of Rome, and intrusted the Cenci case to him. Taverna, after a most careful examination, pronounced sentence of death against all the parties concerned; and Beatrice was executed on the 11th of September, 1599, on the square of the palace of Sant' Angelo.

The Roman lord whose crime had intercepted the pope's clemency was subsequently punished with the same severity.

D'Ossat, become cardinal through the expressed wish of Henry IV, could not be otherwise than doubly zealous in the still difficult business of his royal master. The interests of France, those of Rome, and doubtless, indirectly, those of all Europe, required Henry IV to strengthen his glorious dynasty by a marriage which would secure to that family the succession to the throne in the person of a legitimate son. Henry, at the time of the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, in 1572, had been compelled to marry Margaret of Valois; her brother, Charles IX, and her mother, Catharine de' Medici, deeming that marriage useful to their cause.

Margaret of Valois, Queen of France and Navarre, had thrown obstacles in the way of the divorce, as long as there

was any hope of the Duchess of Beaufort marrying the king. But the duchess having died suddenly and terribly in 1599, in a manner which history has not even yet sufficiently explained, Margaret was again solicited to consent to the divorce. Clement VIII, on his part, caused the princess to be spoken to by several pious and devout persons; and Sully was charged, without concealing anything from Henry IV, with various measures for ascertaining the inclinations of the king's wife.

A correspondence between Rosny and the queen being laid before Pope Clement, he saw therein a favorable augury. D'Ossat negotiated, and the sentence dissolving the marriage was pronounced on the 17th of December, 1599.

In the year 1600 Clement celebrated the eleventh jubilee of the holy year, which he had published on the 19th of May in the previous year.

Independently of the pilgrims who were received into private houses, the hospital of the Trinità de' Pelegrini received five hundred thousand. It was calculated that in the course of the year they reached three million two hundred thousand. On Easter day two hundred thousand pilgrims were present. From France alone there successively arrived three hundred thousand, which caused an immense joy to France, and to the enemies of France a great confusion. Among the personages of rank at Rome, at this jubilee, were the Duke of Bavaria, concealed beneath the simple habit of a pilgrim, the Duke of Bar, the Duke of Parma, and Cardinal Andrew of Austria, who chose to visit the churches incognito. The pope, in spite of his age and infirmities, made seventy visits to the churches, although the number of visits prescribed to Roman residents was thirty, and to strangers fifteen. Clement, on his knees, ascended the Scala Santa, accompanied, barefooted, the processions, washed the feet

of the pilgrims, served them at table, heard their confessions, and distributed alms among them to the amount of more than three hundred thousand crowns. He had had a palace fitted up in the Borgo of Saint Peter's, for the reception of all bishops, prelates, and clerics, who were at liberty to remain there ten days. At the sight of so tender a proof of practical piety, and at the example given by the pope, the cardinals, and the prelates, who seemed to vie with each other in works of piety, even Turks asked and received baptism, and many Protestants, indignant at the calumnious epithets of Antichrist and Babylon, so insolently applied to the pope of Rome, detested their past blindness, and abjured, with execration, the heresy which inspired such an unjust fury, and distinguished themselves as the most exemplary and docile sons of the Roman Church. Among that number was Stephen Calvin, a relation of John Calvin; the pope confirmed him, treated him as a son, and provided magnificently for the expenses of his stay in Rome until the moment of his admission into the order of the barefooted Carmelites, in which he died piously.

The same year, at the request of Cardinal Baronius and of the pious Fulvia Sforza, the Holy Father instituted the order of the Nuns of Saint Clare, called of Saint Urban, from the name of their church. They were poor girls who were called the scattered, because they had no fixed resting-place in the city; they were then collected in the conservatory of Saint Euphemia, and placed under the direction of the cardinal-vicar. Four years previously the pope had given a constitution in favor of poor youths of the other sex who were equally scattered, and who, having been got together by a learned though poor man, were called "poveri literati."

We must not forget the institution of the College for the Scotch, in which young men of that country were so in-

structed that, on their return home, they should take with them a love of the faith, and a desire to restore the primitive Christian religion. Another college, also, was created at Rome, for Italian youth; it was called the Clementine College, and became a fitting monument of that glorious name. In 1604 the pope intrusted the care of it to the Fathers of Somasco, who discharged their duties with untold zeal. They thus trained to piety and knowledge the flower of the Italian nobility. The Illyrian College, which at first was annexed to the Christian College, was afterwards removed to the city of Loretto by Urban VIII.

Gregory XIII had ordered that none but the Jesuits should propagate the faith in Japan and China. That pope knew that it was they who first successfully introduced the Catholic religion there. Clement extended that privilege to all religious orders, especially the mendicants, so illustrious for their doctrinal purity and their piety. The privilege was granted on condition that all the missionaries should be sent from Portugal to their respective superiors in the East Indies, belonging to that kingdom, which, although then united to Spain, wished to keep the Portuguese and the Spanish conquests apart.

To the commencement of the year 1600 must be referred a deed which was not useful to religion, and which indicates a certain serfdom to the cruel policy of Philip III; a deed which some hold up to excuse the infamous cruelties committed by the agents of Elizabeth of England against the Catholics. This was the execution of Giordano Bruno, a Neapolitan, who perished at Rome, in the field of Flora, in consequence of a trial that had been commenced a long time previously in Venice, but was continued in Rome herself.

Bruno, born at Nola, in the kingdom of Naples, about 1550, was very carefully educated. After mathematical, or

rather the philosophical studies, he devoted himself to literature and theology, exhibiting from his youth upward great power of memory, a facile comprehension, and a mind naturally tending to enthusiasm. To pursue still higher studies, he entered the Dominican order. Unfortunately, such advantages as this, when imprudently directed, lead to error. Bruno manifested his peculiar opinions upon the Immaculate Conception, a question upon which others had previously written. His opinions were condemned by some of his superiors. Then Bruno quitted his convent and retired to Geneva in 1580. In that city he embraced Calvinism, and exerted in defence of that heresy the talents which he ought to have exerted against it. This sectary was at Paris in 1582. A self-constituted professor, he attacked the doctrine of Aristotle. Repulsed by the disciples of the Stagirite, Bruno took refuge in England. It was at that period that Gregory XIII sent a consecrated host to Mary, Queen of Scots, who was daily threatened with death by Queen Elizabeth. There, almost at the very moment when Sixtus V received the sublime letter of Mary, Bruno, braving the Roman court and the bull of Saint Pius V, called for assistance in chanting the praises of Elizabeth, who gave him not only food and raiment, but even honors.

Bruno, in his gratitude, wrote, under the title of the Song of the Swan, an apotheosis to the glory of his benefactress. To him Elizabeth was so great that her kingdom resembled none of the States of the Continent, and everywhere, under her reign, the verses of Virgil had become a reality:

"Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."

It is my duty to mention this document, because this act incited the Spanish government to destroy Bruno. Philip II, after marrying Mary, Queen of England and sister of Eliza-

beth, had lost the throne by the death of Mary. England, under Elizabeth, who succeeded Mary, crushed the hopes of Spain. An Italian had eulogized Elizabeth in the most fulsome terms and irritated the vexations of Madrid. That Italian would have long been confined, could he have been taken. When asked if he composed that panegyric, read to him, he acknowledged to the minutest shade the exaggerations of his rancor.

The Neapolitan thus expressed himself:

"Endowed, raised, favored, and supported by Heaven, neither speech nor force will succeed in injuring the divine Elizabeth. No noble of her empire equals her in dignity or heroism; no statesman equals her in wisdom. As to beauty, and knowledge of languages, both vulgar and learned; as to acquaintance with the arts and sciences; as to talent for governing—the fruit of a long experience; as to the other natural and acquired qualities, what to her were the Sophonisbas, the Faustinas, Semiramis, Didos, Cleopatras, and all those female glories of whom Italy, Greece, and Egypt in the old day made their boast? To me the best proof of genius is to be found in deeds—in success.

"Our century beholds that princess with astonishment, with admiration. While political tempests swept over the whole face of Europe, the queen, by the majesty of her flashing gaze, imposed upon the great ocean a peace which has now endured more than five lustres. She constrained it, amidst its perpetual ebb and flow, to receive serenely into its vast bosom that dear Thames, which, fearless and unfatigued, winds tranquilly and gaily between its flowery banks.

"That extraordinary lady rose like a brilliant light, to diffuse itself over the whole world by her title and by her royal dignity. She is inferior to no monarch in the world.

"For the judgment, prudence, and reflection that she displays in governing, it is difficult to discover a queen who approaches her. Certainly, if the empire given by fortune were in proportion to the empire merited by the finest and most generous genius, this new Amphitrite would dominate not England and Ireland only, but the entire globe, and her potent hand would sustain a universal monarchy. Still, it is not for me to speak of those designs of such profound maturity, with which that heroic soul has made peace and rest to triumph, as though by a single glance of her eyes, during more than twenty-five years, and amidst a sea of adversities."

After this eulogy Bruno published at London his famous book on the expulsion of the Triumphant Beast. It has been supposed that he alluded to the pontifical power. Several authors, and among them Bartholomès, think the accusation ill founded. It does not even appear that the Roman tribunals laid much stress upon that accusation, among those which were to press hard upon Bruno. Bartholomès says on that point: "We must remember that that word, so often misinterpreted, has more than one sense, as well as the book of which it is the summary. Strictly speaking, it refers to the beasts, that is to say, the animals, that astronomy and mythology put in the sky; figuratively, it refers to the popular superstitions as to the influence of the stars upon the destinies and volitions of men. The beast is called triumphant because the signs of the zodiac and the notions of starry influences, with the whole tribe of cognate prejudices, were things generally received."

Bruno, meanwhile, kept up some correspondence with Rome. The friends whom he still possessed there saw, in all that series of libels, only attacks upon the humanists. Perhaps Spain had not yet seriously thought of making use

of her pensions, her hirelings, and her rage, which she claimed had all privilege at Rome. The pope had as dexterously as generously shown his clemency in the business of Henry IV. Bruno persuaded himself also that Cardinal Aldobrandini shared the sentiments of his uncle. Homesickness, too, misled Bruno. Whithersoever he had taken his bitterness and his disorderly eccentricities, he had been but little liked. From Wittenberg, the primitive country of Protestantism, for which the restless Dominican doubtless appeared to be still too much of a Catholic, he went to Prague; from Prague, where the halo of Nepomucene was still too brilliant upon the banks of the Moldau, he went to Brunswick, and thence to Helmstedt; and at length was in Frankfort, which in 1591 was still a somewhat mixed city. Finally, he thought he might venture to Venice, which seemed to observe a judicious obedience to the Holy See; but there he was arrested, thrown into a dungeon, and then transferred to Rome. In that city more than one humanist, instead of foreseeing in the mild Christian spirit that some terrible sentence might be pronounced, united with the pensioners of Madrid. No doubt the whole life of Bruno had been devoted to labors very ill befitting a son of Saint Dominic. But he had done still worse than that: he had told the professors of all Europe that they were ignorant, and he had lauded the adversary of Madrid in the pursuit of a sceptre so heavy that no human hand could support it. Bruno had heaped errors upon errors; nevertheless, he might change his conduct. A devoted subject of the monarchy of Spain, why should not he, the exile, aspire to revisit Naples or Nola? He was called upon to abandon his errors. There commenced an error of another kind. The Song of the Swan, in favor of Elizabeth, had its excuse in hunger and distress. The insults to the humanists were for the most

part dictated by his peculiar pride. He knew that no reform is made in the arts and sciences by insult, contumely, and gross imputations.

At Rome Clement VIII and Cardinal Aldobrandini reigned: we know them both. The astronomical doctrine of Bruno alone could be attacked, because experience had not yet produced the triumph of that which now is received as incontestable truth at Rome, at London, at Stockholm, and in Spain. But the requirements of paltry and contemptible vengeance, the great mace left by Charles V and Philip to a prince who, without experience, resigned his power to subalterns more imbecile than energetic, decided the question differently.

In his agonies Bruno neither asked nor accepted quarter, entered into no explanations, remained obstinately plunged in his books, and seemed to disdain the clemency on the throne. He was sentenced to be burned, and the sentence was executed in the field of Flora, on the 17th of February, 1600.

The execution of Bruno deeply humiliated and wounded Clement VIII, and the more so because it was obstinately demanded by Santorio de San Severino, his rival in the conclave of 1592.

In this purely Spanish affair we may almost say that no one did his duty. There was a natural and appropriate punishment that might have been inflicted upon Bruno. He had been repulsed by every country into which he had carried his absurd imaginations. Venice should have thrown him into a gondola, and from Mestre had him conveyed to Germany; though there, also, he was not wanted. If the Ten could not adopt that course, they should have required his trial to take place at Venice, in order that the sentence should not be dictated by Spain.

In 1601 Clement was the first to introduce the practice of sending blessed linen to the infants of Catholic princes. The Holy Father despatched Maffeo Barberini to France, to take such clothes to the dauphin, afterwards Louis XIII, son of Henry IV and Mary de' Medici, born on the 27th of September.

The same year Clement solemnly canonized Saint Raymond de Pennaforte, third general of the order of Saint Dominic, and chaplain to Gregory IX. Raymond died at the age of one hundred, on the 6th of January, 1275.

In 1538 there was printed, at Lisbon, a book entitled "On the Agreement of Grace and Free Will," by Louis de Molina, a Spanish Jesuit. That book, which had been circulated all over Europe without any opposition and with great success, was denounced to the Inquisition of Rome. Clement ordered the matter to be most strictly examined. In 1602 he named eight theologians, who, after a deliberation of three months, declared sixty of Molina's propositions to be erroneous and rash. The Jesuits replied, and a second and more numerous congregation reduced the said sixty propositions to twenty.

Then the Holy Father ordered that, with the assistance of the cardinals of the supreme Inquisition, of the deputed examiners, and of the two generals of the two disputing orders, the Dominicans and the Jesuits, the two parties should state their case in his presence.

To determine this affair, forty-seven congregations were held between the 20th of March, 1602, and the 22d of February, 1606. They were termed De Auxiliis. The pope presided over twenty-seven of them. He fell sick before he could pronounce sentence, and a decision was not given until the reign of Paul V, who, after being present at the last ten congregations, where the examination was left to

the cardinals only, pronounced, on the 27th of April, 1606, that it would be allowed for both orders to teach in their respective schools the contrasted systems as to grace, provided they did so with that prudent and respectful moderation which becomes Catholic theologians in general, and religious in particular.

In the month of March, 1603, died Elizabeth, Queen of England.

By her will she called to the throne James, King of Scotland, whose mother, Mary, had perished on the scaffold, as much by order of the Parliament as by order of Elizabeth, who persecuted her because she professed the Catholic religion. The pope thought that with James the faith would again ascend the throne of England; but it speedily appeared that all the exertions of the pope in that direction were fruitless. The king embraced the doctrine of the Church of England. He was the first to take the title of King of Great Britain, as he was also the first to exercise the rights exclusively belonging to the vicar of Christ. So that all hope vanished of seeing the old faith restored in the kingdom.

An untoward event at this moment grieved the pope and disturbed all Rome. An offender, pursued by the police, took shelter in the palace of Cardinal Odoard Farnese. The sbirri, on entering the palace, were resisted by the cardinal's domestics, so that the criminal escaped in the confusion. On being informed of the fact, the pope was much irritated, and ordered the governor of Rome to prosecute the servants of the cardinal, whom he rebuked sharply, ordering them to give up the offenders.

Several Roman princes and the ambassadors of the Catholic king waited upon the pope and endeavored to appease him. Then the cardinal left Rome, but with so strong an escort that he had nothing to fear from violence. That cir-

cumstance still further irritated the pope, who would no longer consent to pardon.

Ranutius Farnese, Duke of Parma, hastened to Rome to obtain his brother's restoration to favor. He presented himself before Clement with such a good mien and such a deeply respectful manner that he succeeded in appeasing the pope, and the delinquents obtained their pardon. The cardinal was recalled, but did not hasten to return. It was on that occasion that the pope took into his pay six hundred Corsicans and two hundred mounted arquebusiers, who were to guard the pontifical palace and other important points of the capital.

In his sixth promotion Clement gave the purple to Seraphin Olivier. James Davy du Perron also received the purple in the same promotion.

In 1604 France and Rome deplored the death of Cardinal d'Ossat. That faithful servant of Henry IV was only sixty-eight years of age, and it had been hoped that he would preserve his health in a country where the air is so mild and the temperature favorable to the aged. Henry experienced a deep affliction, which he did not attempt to conceal, when he heard that news.

Father Tarquinius Galuzzi, of the Society of Jesus, pronounced the funeral oration on Cardinal d'Ossat, at Rome, on the 18th of March, 1604.

When D'Ossat died, Clement fell seriously ill.

In the following year he was attacked by an intermittent fever. It was so violent that he at times was delirious; suddenly losing his memory and that understanding which had been so vast and profound, he died, aged sixty-nine, on the 5th of March, 1605, after having governed the Church thirteen years, one month, and four days. He was interred in the Vatican, and afterwards removed, on the 26th of April,

1646, to a magnificent tomb in the Borghese Chapel at Saint Mary Major.

Clement was endowed with many virtues. He was zealous for the propagation of the Gospel, for the extirpation of the heresies which then flooded all Europe, for the conversion of the schismatics of the East, and for the restoration of morals and of discipline. Unwearied in the discharge of duty, age and infirmity in naught diminished his courage. Humble in heart, he nevertheless distinguished himself by a certain air of command, and by an absolute tone, as was shown in the affair of Cardinal Farnese. Extremely kind of heart, he could protect his just rights and avoid dangers fatal to some of his predecessors. More than once he was seen at the confessional, receiving, like some good parish priest, all those who presented themselves, who desired to have it to say that they had received absolution from the lips of the pope himself. He said Mass daily, often in tears, and every evening confessed to Cardinal Baronius. He fasted every Wednesday, and had only bread and water every Saturday. A hair shirt next to his infirm body attested his spirit of penance. He often went barefoot in ceremonies. He daily invited to a frugal repast as many paupers as there were years in his pontificate, served them with water to wash, blessed their table, and sent the dishes to them from his own. He visited the unfortunate, he consoled the afflicted, and he spent considerable sums in redeeming from slavery Catholics who had fallen into the power of the infidèls. Such was the pope whom the impudent sectaries would represent as the Antichrist.

Literary men received his rich favors, and he gloried to be numbered among them. He gave the purple to Baronius, Bellarmine, D'Ossat, Du Perron, and Marzali—the first of the Capuchins who received the hat—and to the Jesuit

Toledo. Toledo and Bellarmine were the first of their order to obtain that honor.

He forbade Italians to reside in any places out of Italy where they had not liberty to exercise the Catholic religion in public—a rule confirmed by Gregory XVI. He declared that it was not allowable for any one to confess by letter or by message to an absent confessor, or in such manner to receive absolution. For though the Council of Trent had decided that those who, after baptism, had sinned were to present themselves at the tribunal of penance, to be absolved by the competent minister, yet the scholastics, fertile in subtleties, had taught that confession could be made, and absolution received, by letters or by proxy. Nothing could be more convenient than to commit one's sins to paper, that raises no blush; or to confess them, like the Sacramentaries, only to the Eternal Father. In that wise confession would be deprived of its most rigorous quality, because it is necessary to confess viva voce our own proper departures from the right path. The sacred tribunal would thus be deprived of what it has of the most salutary, for confession is a great part of the penance for the past, and one of the most efficient preservatives against relapse. On those grounds Clement was obliged to condemn the new opinion as false, erroneous, and rash, forbidding it to be maintained either in public or in private, even as merely probable, under pain of excommunication, reserved to the pope. He condemned the opinion of those who affirmed that Christians ought not to hear Mass except in their own parish churches, or to confess to any one but their own parish priest. The pope declared that both were perfectly lawful, provided each one duly received communion at Easter in his own parish church. He forbade any litany to be chanted in public offices except the Litany of the Saints and Litany

of Loretto. He corrected the Roman pontifical, breviary, and the ceremonial of the bishops.

Bartholomès passes this judgment on Clement: "This pope was one of the most eminent of modern times. He was prodigiously active and untiring; an experienced and adroit administrator; jealous to govern by himself; a persevering statesman; circumspect even to taciturnity; rarely inclined to even an innocent duplicity; an enemy to Spain and to the Medici."

The Holy See was vacant twenty-eight days.

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LEO XI—A.D. 1605

LEO XI (Alessandro Octavian de' Medici) was born at Florence in 1535, son of Octavian de' Medici and of Frances, daughter of James Salviati and Lucretia de' Medici, sister of Leo X.

As he evinced from youth an inclination for the priesthood, his mother, to dissuade him, placed him at the court of her cousin Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who immediately made him a knight of the order of Saint Stephen. On his mother's death he resumed his first intention, and was sent by Cosmo as ambassador to the court of Saint Pius V at Rome, where he spent several years.

In 1573 he was made Bishop of Pistoja, and in 1574 promoted to the archbishopric of Florence. Gregory XIII, in 1583, made him cardinal of the title of Saints Quirico and Giulitta, which he exchanged successively for those of Saint Peter in Vinculis, Saint Praxedes, and Saints John and Paul.

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As cardinal he took part in the election of Sixtus V, Urban VII, Gregory XIV, Innocent IX, and Clement VIII, the last of whom sent him, in 1596, as legate a latere into France, where he remained two years, to the great satisfaction of Henry IV, who thanked the Holy Father in a letter dated on the 8th of December, 1596.

In 1600 Clement VIII made the Archbishop of Florence suburbican bishop of Albano, and of Palestrina in 1602.

After the funeral of Clement VIII sixty-two cardinals entered into conclave on the 14th of March, 1605. Cardinals Zacchia, Blandrata, and De' Medici were proposed as candidates. A strong party was disposed to elect Cardinal Baronius. Spain was opposed to him, because in his Annals Baronius had combated the claims of the kings of Spain to the monarchy of Sicily; and because, moreover, he had been in favor of absolving Henry IV. Some of the cardinals having left the conclave from illness, only forty votes were required to render the election canonical. Baronius at first obtained twenty, and then thirty-seven, so that only three votes were lacking to enable his friends to congratulate him. But the truthful historian and dispassionate annalist, speaking nothing but what he believed to be true, exempt from every kind of adulation, and utterly free from the use of equivocal language, would not advance his cause by a single smile, or by a politeness not strictly called for by the occasion. He passed amid his brethren in the conclave, thoroughly sincere, seeing nothing and saying nothing, alone with himself in that crowd, as though, pen in hand, he were at work in his study. He left friends and electors to themselves, impartial men to take part according to their individual convictions, and thus to conspire against the repose and the liberty of the historian. He asked nothing, and he repelled nothing.

But Spain labored to exclude from the papacy the friend

of order and the friend of truth—he who taught the powerful ones of earth that one day they also would be judged, even on that earth on which they had kindled so many useless wars; and Baronius accordingly was excluded.

Another cardinal had also been named, Bellarmine, who obtained ten votes; but the choice fell upon Alessandro de' Medici, who was at length named by adoration. Moved by a sense of duty and honor, Cardinal Alessandro accepted the tiara, and chose the name of Leo XI. He was crowned in the Vatican, and on Low Sunday took possession of Saint John Lateran.

Cardinal Gallo having solicited the suppression of some imposts, he not only readily granted it, but thanked the cardinal for having given him the opportunity instantly to do a public service.

The Spanish ambassador, the Marquis of Villena, having shown some discontent with the election, Leo said to him: "We were well treated in your country; write to your court that we shall be its friend as far as it depends upon us."

Some time after, Leo made Cardinal Cinthius Aldobrandini high penitentiary, and distributed generous aid among poor cardinals. On his return from taking possession of Saint John Lateran, the pope was attacked by a disorder which was speedily aggravated by his age. Fever set in, and having been compelled to take to his bed, the disease increased. All the court entreated the pope to name as cardinal one of his nephews, a man of pure morals, and to whom he was very partial. But he resisted all entreaty, even that of his confessor, to whom he replied: "Do not suggest to us any care for earthly interests; you must speak to us now only about things eternal."

Leo died on the 29th of April, having occupied the pontificate scarcely twenty-six days.

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He was a prince of grave but agreeable countenance, liberal, affable, type of the good Medici, full of candor, and the enemy of every kind of fraud in either word or deed.

He was interred in the Vatican Basilica; but Cardinal Pompey Ugoni, his nephew, removed his body to a magnificent tomb reared on the left side of that basilica by the celebrated Algardi.

The Holy See was vacant eighteen days.

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PAUL V—A.D. 1605

PAUL V (Camillo Borghese) was born at Rome on the 17th of September, 1552, of an illustrious family of Siennese origin. After studying philosophy at Perugia and law at Padua, he became a consistorial advocate, then prelate-abbreviator, referendary of the two signatures —pardons and justice, important tribunals presided over by the pope or a cardinal—and subsequently vicar of Saint Mary Major. In 1588 he was sent by Sixtus V to Bologna as vice-legate. Gregory XIV recalled him to employ him as auditor of the chamber, vacant by the death of his brother, Horatius Borghese.

Clement VIII despatched Camillo into Spain with extraordinary powers, and created him cardinal of Saint Eusebius on the 15th of June, 1596. He was surnamed the excellent cardinal, and already spoken of as likely to become pope. The cardinals, entering into conclave May 8, showed a disposition to elect Cardinal Toschi of Modena, and some

proposed to go into the chapel and adore that cardinal; but Cardinal Baronius said that the election of Toschi was not for the good of the Church.

Toschi, according to Tiraboschi, retained from his early education and associations some low words and expressions, which, to the severe Baronius, seemed unbecoming in a vicar of Christ. This unexpected declaration diverted the votes from Toschi, and thirty-two cardinals declared for Baronius. The latter was justified in excluding Toschi, who had been a servant to John Baptist Brugnolo, auditor of Monsignor Archinto, the pope's vicar. Toschi's rise had been rapid, for at an early age he was governor of Rome, and, purity of language apart, all admitted him to be a man of courage, an able jurisconsult, and the author of useful works.

But Baronius, in excluding his colleague for good reasons, did not expect to be himself declared pope. He wished one chosen who would govern the Church well, but he did not wish to be the one.

The great cardinal did not remain neutral, as in the election of Leo XI, but felt obliged to oppose his new friends: he proposed Bellarmine, who employed the same eloquence to prove that another choice would be preferable. Such rare and sublime modesty deserves the highest eulogy of history. A Baronius and a Bellarmine, two eminent men, on this occasion set an example of admirable magnanimity; and the more they depreciated themselves, the more their greatness is to be admired.

Cardinals Montalto and Aldobrandini were next mentioned, the heads of the two parties who divided the power in the conclave.

The French cardinals had not as yet pronounced their opinion; but, seeing that Montalto sincerely supported Borghese, they joined with the Montaltists, and Borghese was

named pope on the evening of the 16th of May, 1605, at the age of fifty-five, though he appeared to be scarcely forty. On the 29th of May he was crowned under the name of Paul V, and on the 6th of November he took possession of Saint John Lateran. Before the latter date he had already created cardinals, issued many bulls, and performed all other acts of the supreme dignity. This shows the incorrectness and inconsistency of those who maintain that the pope possesses the papal authority only when he has received the two keys in Saint John Lateran.

One of the first cares of Paul V was to publish a special jubilee, to obtain from the divine mercy a prosperous government of the Universal Church. He then ordered his vicar, Cardinal Pamphili, to notify all bishops then in Rome to return to their dioceses.

He at first abstained from distributing favors, saying that asking and giving inconsiderately were both too easy at such times. The early months of the reign of Gregory XIII prove how judicious these words are.

In the month of August, 1605, Henry IV sent D'Halincourt, Marquis de Villeroy, as ambassador extraordinary to compliment Pope Paul V. D'Ossat was no longer in the Eternal City.

Paul V, in order to put an end to the controversy on grace that was carried on between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, once more revived the congregations de Auxiliis, instituted by Clement VIII, and finally permitted each party to maintain its own opinion. On the 18th of July of the same year, Paul raised to the purple Scipio Caffarelli Borghese, a noble Roman and his maternal nephew, who, by his direction, dropped the name of Caffarelli. This selection, it may be remarked, pleased the whole city of Rome. Scipio was distinguished for such gentle and kindly manners that he was

called Delizia di Roma. He built the magnificent villa the Pinciana Borghese, where, notwithstanding losses and sales of many of the statues, a large number of most costly objects are still to be seen.

At this time there arose a dispute between the pontiff and the republic of Venice. Two causes are assigned for that serious quarrel. Two ecclesiastics had been accused before the Council of Ten of crime, rapine, and even of homicide. The two accused, Scipio Saraceni, canon of Vicenza, and Brandolino Valmarino, a native of Forli and abbot of Narvesa, had been tried and imprisoned, in 1606, without any notice of the facts being given to the Roman court.

The other cause was the publication of two decrees of the senate, one of which forbade the founding of hospitals or monasteries, the institution of new religious orders, the building of churches, or the establishment of confraternities without the permission of the senate. The second decree forbade, throughout the whole republic (what had been forbidden as to the city and duchy of Venice under Paul III), to leave by will, or to alienate by sale or otherwise, any real estate of the Church for more than two years, and equally forbade the purchase or other acquisition of such real estate, without the consent of the senate.

Paul, a zealous defender of ecclesiastical immunities, seeing them attacked and menaced with annihilation by this decree, ordered his nephew Horace Mattis to demand the liberty of the two prisoners and the revocation of the decrees in question. He himself, in an audience which he gave the Chevalier Nani, the Venetian ambassador, complained warmly of this conduct; and he hoped to bring Venice to reason, as he had done Genoa. Venice, however, would not yield.

The Holy Father then held a consistory embracing forty

cardinals, all those at Rome, with the exception of one, who, as a subject of the republic, very properly abstained from voting.

It was there determined to issue a monition to the republic of Venice, and if, within twenty-four days, the doge and the republic should not obey the Holy Father, the doge and the senate were to be excommunicated; and, three days later, the same punishment was to be inflicted upon all the subjects of the republic. The Venetian government forbade all obedience to the interdict, on pain of exile. The nuncio quitted Venice. The Jesuits instantly submitted to the pontifical order, departed in formal procession, and were declared to be perpetually banished from the State.

The Theatines and Capuchins represented to the government that they were prepared to keep their churches open for foreign priests, and at the same time prayed that they might be allowed to perform their offices in private; and this being refused, they also departed into exile. The Capuchins in the territory of Brescia and Bergamo continued in their convents, because they had not observed the interdict.

Many writings appeared on both sides. It was said that the cause of the Venetians was that of all princes, who would all be gainers by a victory over the Holy See.

Among the writers who defended the Venetians were Fra Paolo Sarpi, and Brother Fulgentius, his worthy rival, who poured forth a torrent of bold invective against the Roman court. But the cause of the court was eloquently defended by Baronius and Bellarmine, those two men of glory and of genius who could not be persuaded to accept the tiara, but never ceased to be the boldest defenders of the Church.

A war seemed imminent between Venice and the Holy See, when the Catholic king, Philip III, offered to the pope the troops stationed in the Milanese, and promised to reduce

the Venetians to obedience. At the same time that prince secretly encouraged the Venetians to resist. Henry IV, sincerely attached to the Holy See, offered his mediation to the two powers, and really desired to restore peace to Italy, where, as everywhere, it was much needed. Cardinal de Joyeuse, dean of the Sacred College, was sent to Venice to treat in the name of the pope and of the king. Returning to Rome on the 22d of March, 1607, he obtained the pope's full authority to absolve the Venetians from the censures which they had incurred, to raise the interdict, and conclude a definitive peace with the republic. The two parties were in the first place to discontinue hostilities. The interdict was revoked, and the two decrees were declared void. In this negotiation Cardinal Joyeuse displayed remarkable ability and zeal. On the 21st of April, the Venetians having given up the two prisoners, Scipio Saraceni and Brandolino Valmarino, peace was restored.

The Venetians promised to send to Rome an ambassador to thank the pope for restoring them to his affection, but they sought to avoid all mention of absolution. The great soul of Paul was displayed on that occasion. After having shown a just pride, he reverted to feelings of conciliation, as so often had been done by his august predecessors, who feared to lose too much by insisting upon a false point of honor. The Holy See and the republic of Venice expressed in several letters their gratitude to Henry IV.

However, there was one point upon which the Venetians, when the execution of the treaty was in question, would not yield. All the exiled religious returned to their houses, except the Jesuits, who were not readmitted until 1657, under Pope Alexander VII.

There was now a new promotion of cardinals. Paul gave the purple to Marcellus Lante, his relation, one of the richest

and most beneficent prelates in Rome. On account of his sumptuous charities he was called a new John the Almoner.

On the 29th of March, 1608, the pope terminated the process of the canonization of Saint Frances, a Roman lady, born in 1384, founder of the Oblates of Saint Benedict, of the congregation of Mont' Olivetole, commonly called the ladies of the Tor' de Specchi.

Henry IV had instituted, in opposition to the heretics, the military order of Saint Mary of Carmel. The pope, approving the step, on the 31st of October, 1608, united the order to that of the Knights of Saint Lazarus. The order was to bear, for the future, both names, as regarded the French, and the name of Saints Maurice and Lazarus was reserved for the Savoyards and the Italians. The knights of the order were subsequently limited, by order of Louis XV, to one hundred. Eight of these might be ecclesiastics, and all must be thirty years of age and be able to prove four degrees of paternal nobility.

The armies of the King of Spain, commanded by the Archduke Albert, in Flanders, were often defeated by the Dutch, who would listen to no proposals of peace, nor consent to lay down their arms, except on the recognition of their independence, and other conditions very unpalatable to Spain, but to which she had to submit.

The pope, learning that at Madrid frequent councils of state were held in order to conclude the desired accommodation, lost no time in exhorting King Philip to demand, as one of the conditions of the treaty, the free exercise of the Catholic religion in Holland. This the Protestant provinces constantly opposed; and then the Spaniards, unable to continue the war, concluded a peace of twelve years, and thus abandoned the interests of religion, notwithstanding the bitter complaints of the pope. Philip, though unable at

this juncture to save the interests of religion in the crash of politics, sought to retain the good will of the Holy Father.

The Moors still continued to occupy the kingdoms of Valencia and Castile. They conspired against the king, and sought in every direction for supporters in their revolt. They sent agents into France to obtain alliances; they disturbed the king even upon his throne in Madrid, not far distant from the headquarters of those insurrectionary plots. Those attempts had prevented the prosecution of the war in Holland. The King of Spain, after mature deliberation, ordered the Moors to be simultaneously expelled from the kingdom which they inhabited on the Spanish peninsula. Spain sought praise for this as zeal for religion; but Muratori and Spondanus attribute it to motives purely political. At the same time, the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel, made another attempt to surprise Geneva; but the enterprise was discovered, and the partisans of the duke had to seek safety in flight.

The pope was greatly afflicted by the death of Henry IV, whose assassination plunged the pontiff into a profound grief and depression. He assembled a consistory, to which he expressed the agonies that had been inflicted upon him by tidings so sad to Catholicism. Then he addressed to the queen regent letters in which, after showing the pain and difficulty of the Holy See, he exhorted her to defend the faith, and to rear her son in love for religion, which had lost in Henry so powerful a protector.

Paul V, attentive and vigilant, incessantly endeavored to maintain Mary de' Medici in religious feelings favorable to the Holy See; and when he did not find his efforts resisted by her insatiable domestic ambition, he had reason to hope that he should see her a faithful friend of the Roman court. More-

over, the Bishop of Luçon (Richelieu) kept Mary well inclined to the Holy See. She had always been accustomed to honor and respect Rome and its ministers; and we shall see clearer marks of her feelings in 1625, when that queen gave her daughter Henrietta in marriage to the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles I.

On the 1st of November, 1610, the pope canonized Saint Charles Borromeo, born at Arma, a fief of his family, on the 2d of October, 1538, the son of Ghiberto Borromeo and Margaret de' Medici, sister of Pius IV. Clement VIII, in 1601, had commenced the preliminaries of that canonization, and in 1604 had beatified Charles. Benedict XIII, on the 14th of July, 1724, granted a plenary indulgence to all who, on the day of that saint, visit a church of the religious of Saint John of God.

Meantime Pope Paul V effected peace between France and Spain. The treaty was published at Rome amid public rejoicings. Paul had also the satisfaction of settling the disputes which had arisen between the Emperor Rudolph and the Archduke Matthias, who was crowned at Prague as King of Bohemia. Cardinal Mellini, Paul's legate, had obtained from the two contestants all that the Holy Father required.

Paul approved the order of the Ursulines, which had been established at Paris by Marie d'Huillier. It followed the rule of Saint Augustine, with special statutes, and devoted itself to the education and training of girls. The Ursuline order, originating at Brescia in 1527, had been approved by Gregory XIII on the 24th of November, 1572. It spread in France, and extended to Flanders and Germany, whither the Ursulines were invited by the Empress Eleanor, mother of Leopold I; and it afterwards extended to Canada, Louisiana, Hungary, and finally to Rome.

Paul V also showed his love of the arts and his desire to adorn the capital of the Christian world.

The Vatican Basilica, commenced by Julius II, and extended by his successors, especially by Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, was not yet completed. It was not sufficient for the majesty of the sacred ashes of the numerous saints that it contained, notwithstanding the vast idea conceived by Bramante and improved by Michelangelo Buonarroti. Paul endeavored to perfect the basilica. He continued the buildings from the Gregorian Chapel to the façade; he erected some chapels, the choir, the lower portico adjoining, a church, and the upper portico for the papal benediction. In the interior of the first portico were representations of the acts of Saint Peter. On the upper portico were placed thirteen statues, that of the Redeemer and those of the twelve apostles.

In the middle of that august temple Paul opened the sacred confession in which repose the bodies of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Subsequently His Holiness turned his attention to the subterranean church. The palace of the Vatican was next enlarged and rendered still more magnificent. The Vatican Library and secretariate were made such as we now see them.

No less beautiful embellishments were bestowed upon Saint Mary Major. The Borghese Chapel there is worthy of admiration.

In order to avoid the unhealthy summer air of the Vatican, the popes in warm weather usually remove to the Quirinal; but that palace not being large enough for the pope's household, the Rota, and other tribunals, Paul, looking to the public wants, brought the Quirinal to its actual elegance. The pope took up his residence there on the 14th of January, 1614. Bulls issued here are dated from Saint Mary Major,

because that is the nearest basilica. Formerly they were dated from Saint Mark's, but St. Mark's is not a basilica. Paul erected a lighthouse at Civita Vecchia, and added new works to the fortress. He brought to Rome the water called Paola; the same which, under Trajan, was known as the Alsietina. That Paola water was at that time one of the great benefits of Rome.

It is impossible to enumerate all the works of Paul, who so well followed the example of Sixtus V. And he still imitated him when, after so many gigantic and expensive enterprises, he left in the Castle of Sant' Angelo a treasure which rendered it for the time unnecessary to touch that of Sixtus. At the instance of Mary de' Medici, Queen of France, the Holy Father, on the 10th of May, 1613, approved the congregation of the Oratory of Christ, instituted in France on the 4th of November, 1611, by Peter de Bérulle, a priest of Paris (afterwards made cardinal by Urban VIII), in memory of the prayers offered by Jesus Christ while he deigned to dwell among men in the flesh. Until the revolutions in France, that congregation formed a body of priests under the jurisdiction of the bishops, and it had been admitted only on that condition. It is altogether distinct from the congregation of the Oratory, founded by Saint Philip Neri and approved by Gregory XIII.

The care of Paul extended over the world, and embraced all questions, even those relating to the customs of various countries.

In the empire of China, for instance, it is deemed indecent and significant of great irreverence to have the head uncovered. Paul V, therefore, granted to the missionaries to that empire leave to wear a cap while saying Mass, provided that it should be a different one from that worn at other time and place. The Chinese neophytes had a new kind of biretta

made on purpose for Mass, and different from the ordinary one.

The same missionaries asked and obtained from the Holy Father yet another grace. He issued a decree permitting the divine service to be celebrated and the Mass to be said in the Chinese language. But the decree was not sent to those missionaries who had solicited it. In 1658, the same request being made to Alexander VII, a congregation was assembled, but came to no decision. In 1681 a missal was translated into the Chinese language. Father Couplet, procurator-general of the mission, went to Rome to solicit an approbation and authority to use it, but did not succeed.

By a bull of the 30th of August, 1617, Paul V renewed the constitution of Sixtus IV upon the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, to terminate the dispute that had arisen between the Spanish Dominicans and the Franciscans. The Holy Father was then urged to make the mystery of the conception an article of faith; but he merely forbade the public teaching of the contrary. The same pope, in 1618, approved the order of the Visitation, instituted in 1610, in the city of Annecy, in Savoy, by Saint Jane Frances Frémyot, widow of Christopher de Rabutin, Baron de Chantal. The name was given to the order on account of the visits which, previous to being subjected to the cloister, those religious made to the poor and the sick in memory of the visitation of the Blessed Virgin to Saint Elizabeth. Saint Francis de Sales, who had chiefly contributed to the foundation of the institute, gave it a rule closely following that of Saint Augustine, which was afterwards confirmed, in 1626, by Urban VIII.

To draw up those statutes the holy Bishop of Geneva studied those of all the other religious orders, and finally

fixed upon those of the Jesuits, which he admired for their wisdom and exactitude. He especially did justice to the admirable foresight which provided for everything calculated to maintain piety in the bosom of an order occupied with the salvation of others in so many and diverse duties.

The congregation of the Visitation, erected into a religious order by Paul V, began to extend so rapidly that the holy foundress had the happiness of seeing eighty-seven houses founded in France and Savoy, whence the order extended into Germany and Poland. At the end of the eighteenth century there were six thousand six hundred nuns, in a hundred and fifty monasteries, who had lost none of their original fervor. It was to those nuns, who were under the direction of the bishops, that the King of Spain, in 1757, intrusted a community after the model of the illustrious house of Saint Cyr, in France. They daily recited the office of the Blessed Virgin; and as, after entering the cloister, they could no longer render to the poor the services rendered in their former visitations, they are bound to admit into their convents young women of delicate health, widows and old women, and women generally incapable of being admitted into other orders.

In 1520 the congregation of the Reformed Camaldolensian Hermits, called of Monte Corona, had been founded by the venerable Paul Giustiniani, a Venetian, who died at fifty-two years of age, in 1528. The Holy Father granted them a convenient site at Frascati to erect a monastery.

This congregation is a reform of the Camaldolensians, so called from the first monastery founded in 1022, by Saint Romualdo, a nobleman of Ravenna, at the hermitage of Campo Maldolo, situated in the Apennines, near Arezzo, and following the rule of Saint Benedict. To that order, con-

firmed by the pontiffs Leo IX, Nicholas II, and Alexander II, is united another congregation, of the Hermits of Fontevellana, founded at the same period in Umbria. This latter congregation owes a portion of its renown to Saint Peter Damian, who was its abbot.

On the 16th of March, 1618, the pope made a promotion of two cardinals—a Frenchman, Cardinal Henri de Gondi, uncle of the famous Cardinal de Retz, Paul de Gondi; and a Spaniard, Cardinal Francis Rojas de Sandoval, of the family of the dukes of Lerma, the famous minister of Philip III. By this promotion Paul showed his desire to do honor at the same time to France and to Spain. The Emperor Matthias, dying, was succeeded in the States of Austria and in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia by Ferdinand II, his cousin. A party in Bohemia, however, sought to wrest the imperial crown from the house of Austria, offering it to the Duke of Savoy, if he would support them in their rebellion; but Ferdinand II was crowned nevertheless. On the 29th of August, 1619, the Bohemians declared him deprived of the throne, which they proffered to several princes; none of whom would attempt to ascend it, except Frederic, the elector palatine, an ambitious young man, stimulated to the enterprise by his wife, who, being the daughter of James, King of England, repined at not wearing also a royal crown. That prince was solemnly proclaimed King of Bohemia. Pope Paul was opposed to Frederic, a Protestant prince, and he ordered his nuncio to recognize Ferdinand II, emperor, as legitimate successor to Matthias.

The arms of Ferdinand prospered, and the celebrated victory of Prague gave him Bohemia, which could then freely return to the Catholic faith. But the term assigned as the limit of the life of Paul had arrived; and on the 28th of January, 1621, he died, after reciting the creed, at the age of

sixty-nine years. He had governed the Church fifteen years, seven months, and thirteen days.

He was interred at the Vatican.

Paul was tall and majestic. Everything in his gait and bearing, as well as his countenance, prepossessed people in his favor; but his virtues more especially recommended him to those who came into immediate contact with him. He filled with gospel laborers all heathen countries that solicited missionaries.

Paul used to say that he gained two advantages by embellishing and improving Rome: in the first place, he rendered the city more august; and in the next place, he gave employment to a host of artisans, who, but for him, would have been destitute.

This pope always showed great affection for the Jesuits. He protested against the condemnation of a work of Suarez by the Parliament of Paris, and after long debates the sentence was suspended. And he protested against the book of Richer, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who spoke disrespectfully of the rights of the Holy See. The work was censured, and the pope was appeased.

As to the opinions of Galileo, which began to circulate under Paul V, Guicciardini, ambassador from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in a despatch of the 4th of March, 1616, wrote thus to his master:

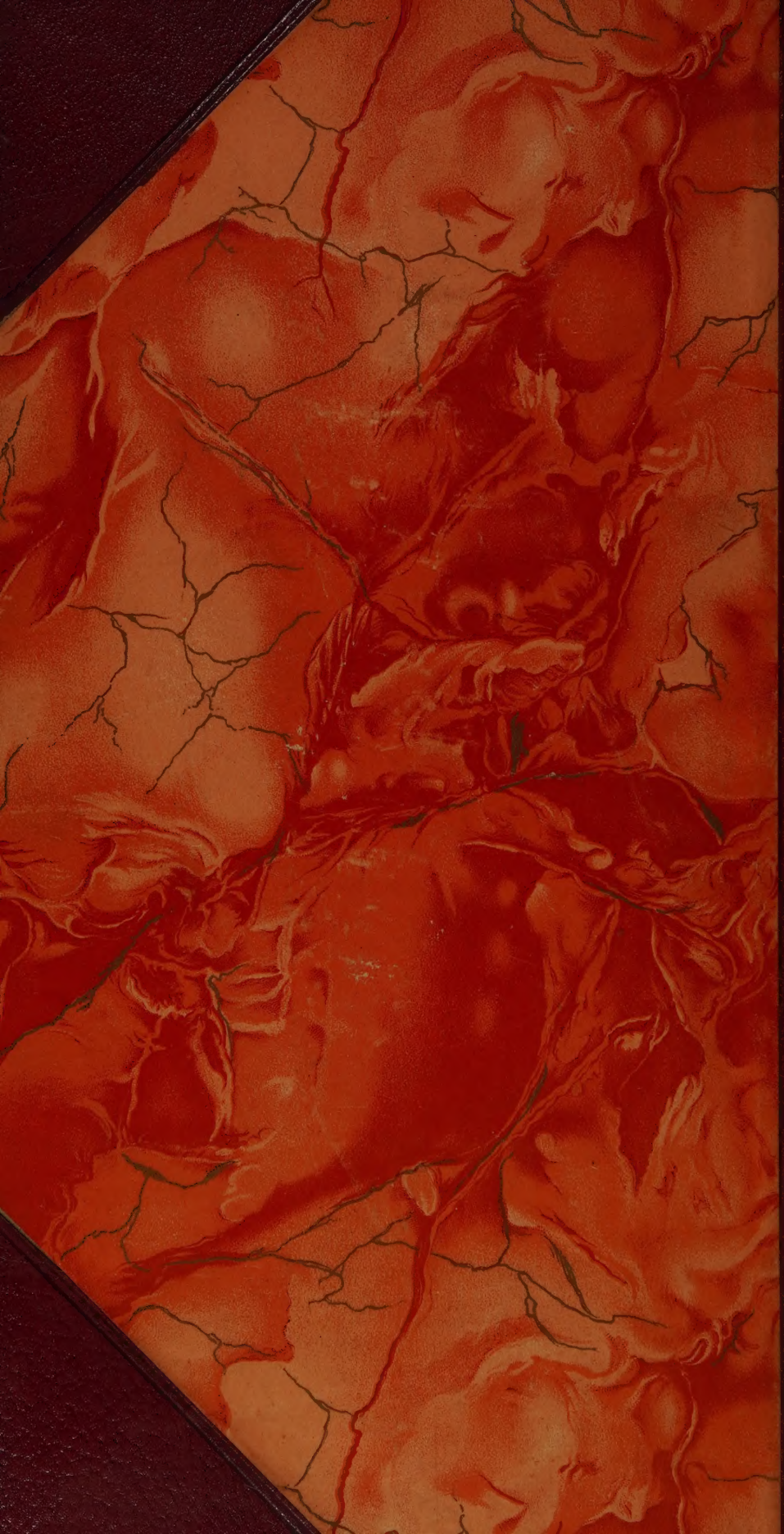
"Galileo insisted on obtaining from the pope and the Holy Office a declaration that the system of Copernicus was founded on the Scriptures. He haunted the antechambers of the court and the palaces of the cardinals; he composed memorial after memorial. Galileo thought more of his own opinions than of those of his friends. After having persecuted and wearied many other cardinals, he at length won over Cardinal Orsini. The latter, with more warmth than

prudence, urged His Holiness to favor the wishes of Galileo. The pope, tiring of the conversation, broke it off. Galileo carried into all these proceedings an extreme heat, which he had neither the strength nor the prudence to control. He might throw us all into great embarrassment, and I cannot see what he is likely to gain by a longer stay here."

Citing a modern historian, Feller says:

"Never has any pope approved more orders and various congregations, persuaded as he was that there cannot be too many asylums for piety, and that, as God does not lead all men by the same way, it is fit that we should open various roads by which men may seek him. It results from all this recital that Paul was a great and a generous pope."

After the death of this pope the Holy See was vacant eleven days.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE POPES

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